

Handwritten initials and a vertical list of numbers on the right margin.

A I R T E L

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 4/3/57  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 4/2/57. This information had been received in a conversation with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and SAM KUSHNER, members of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, on that date. KUSHNER and LIGHTFOOT had received this information in a telephone conversation with FRED FINE, member of the National Committee of the CP-USA, on 4/1-2/57. EUGENE DENNIS had also spoken to LIGHTFOOT by telephone on 4/2/57.

New England District

CG 5824-S\* learned that MICHAEL RUSSO was defeated for the job of District Organizer for the New England District, but

- 3 - Bureau (AM)(REGISTERED)
- 2 - Boston (AM)(REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-20779)(CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-16160)(MICHAEL RUSSO)
- 4 - Detroit (AM)(REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-2050)(CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-8482)(THOMAS DENNIS)
  - (1 - 100-945)(NAT GANLEY)
  - (1 - 100-13740)(HELEN WINTER)
- 3 - Newark (AM)(REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-4284)(CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (PATRICK TOOHEY)
  - (1 - 100-2974) [redacted]

100-80638-1188  
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FBI - NEW YORK  
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See la page for additional copies.

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CG 100-18953

- 19 - New York (AM) (REGISTERED)
- (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S\*) (P & C)
  - (1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2) (#12-14)
  - (1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)
  - ~~(1 - 100-80638)~~ (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81338) (CP - USA, Security Measures) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#12-8)
  - (1 - 100- ) (JESUS COLON)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-49149) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-24448) (LILLIAN GATES)
  - (1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON) (#12-14)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-13336) [REDACTED] (#19)
  - (1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#20-13)
- 8 - Chicago
- (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-18962) (CP - USA, Security Measures)
  - (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
  - (1 - 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-2849) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-18457) [REDACTED]

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*Jan* JEK:kw  
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CG 100-18953

was elected as a member of the National Committee representing the New England District. Informant did not learn the identity of RUSSO's successor as District Organizer in New England.

New Jersey District

CG 5824-S\* learned that MARTHA STONE and PATRICK TOOHEY were elected as members of the National Committee for the New Jersey District.

Michigan District

CG 5824-S\* learned that NAT GANLEY and TOM DENNIS were elected as members of the National Committee representing the Michigan District. HELEN WINTER was selected as an alternate member of the National Committee.

New York District

The New York District did not elect any District officers at its convention during the weekend of 3/30-31/57. The convention passed only one resolution and this resolution pertains to the Jewish question. FINE stated that he did not know the contents of this resolution.

The New York District Convention elected its eleven representatives to the National Committee. An agreement had been reached on nine of the eleven prior to the convention. Seven of the eleven are from the industrial region and are supposed to consist of five who represent the "middle group", one who represents the organized Left wing, and one who represents the organized Right wing. CG 5824-S\* learned that [redacted] is included in the group of seven from the industrial section. Also elected was JESUS COLON. This election is supposed to be a concession to the Right wing, which opposed the election of [redacted]. At the same time, COLON's election fulfills the promise of the New York District, made at the National Convention, to elect a Puerto Rican to the National Committee. Also elected to the National Committee was [redacted] from Harlem. She is a representative of the Left wing. CG 5824-S\* commented that this person attended the National Convention and took a prominent part in the discussion; however, her identity

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CG 100-18953

was not known to the informant until 4/2/57. Also elected to the National Committee from the New York District were SIMON W. GERSON and WILLIAM WEINSTONE. GERSON received the largest vote, and WEINSTONE is reported to have moved away from the position of the extreme Left. LILLIAN GATES failed to be elected to the National Committee by ten votes.

Fourteen members-at-large on the District Committee were also elected. Included in this group of fourteen was LILLIAN GATES, who received next to the lowest number of votes necessary for election. FINE stated that the majority of those elected as members-at-large on the District Committee represent the "middle group" or a group Left of Center. FINE stated that the results of the elections in the counties will determine the composition of the District Committee.

JOHN GATES has stated that he will not tolerate BEN DAVIS as the District Organizer in New York. DAVIS has stated that he will not tolerate GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY as the District Organizer in New York. FINE stated that some people have already quit the CP in New York; however, he did not furnish any names to either LIGHTFOOT or KUSHNER. FINE also stated that there is speculation that GATES will leave the CP. FINE said that [redacted] has withdrawn his resignation from the Party, but on the whole the New York District is demoralized.

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#### Miscellaneous

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that he will leave Chicago on Monday, 4/8/57, and will spend approximately one week in New York City. LIGHTFOOT stated that he is of the opinion that GATES may leave the CP. He also said that in a recent speech, GATES again criticized the Soviet Union's action in Hungary. LIGHTFOOT said that in his opinion, GATES has to be told that there is a limit to what he can say and if he goes beyond that limit, he will have to get out of the CP.

CG 5824-S\* learned that the Illinois representatives to the National Committee will strongly urge that meetings of the full National Committee be held in Chicago instead of New York City. It is believed that support can be obtained from other Districts for this suggestion; however, the suggestion



CG 100-18953

will probably not be made until after the first meeting of the full National Committee on 4/27-28/57. The suggestion will be made on the theory that Chicago is more centrally located than New York. It is realized, however, that some National Committee members in New York may not be permitted to travel to Chicago due to court restrictions.

It is noted that FLO HALL, SAM KUSHNER, [redacted] [redacted]), and [redacted] were elected as the four National Committee members from Illinois at the District Convention on 3/30-31/57. These persons represent a viewpoint Left of Center. CG 5824-S\* learned on 4/2/57 that the newly elected National Committee members from Illinois will do everything possible to prevent disclosure of the fact that they were elected to the National Committee. They will ask the National Office of the CP-USA not to announce the names of National Committee members elected by the Districts. LIGHTFOOT is particularly concerned over the fact that the election of [redacted] to the National Committee may be made public.

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[redacted]

Cleveland, Ohio  
April 15, 1957

MEMO: SAC

FROM: SA [redacted]

RE: CP-USA  
SIXTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION (100-11770)

CLEVELAND (21 copies)

[redacted]	100-16735	[redacted]
100-11770	100-18660	[redacted]
100-19532	100-18661	[redacted]
100-21056	100-56	[redacted]
100-19945	65-721	(ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
100-237	100-4212	(HYMAN LUMER)
100-231	100-16795	[redacted]
100-15908	100-16390	(BRIEF)
100-22209	100-17289	(P AND P)
100-21222	100-17257	(ORGANIZATION)
100-222		

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BOSTON (1 copy)  
MICHAEL A. RUSSO

CHICAGO (4 copies)  
FRED FINE  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

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DALLAS (1 copy)  
[redacted]

- 1 - Boston (RM)
- 4 - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - Dallas (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (RM)

- 1 - Newark (RM)
- 31 - New York (RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
- 21 - Cleveland

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MAR 17 1957  
FBI - NEW YORK  
#19  
I. Waters

*R*

[REDACTED]

DETROIT (2 copies)

[REDACTED]

CARL WINTER

MINNEAPOLIS (1 copy)

[REDACTED]

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NEWARK (1 copy)

[REDACTED]

NEW YORK (31 copies)

ABNER BERRY  
BEN DAVIS  
EUGENE DENNIS  
EARL DURHAM  
JAMES FORD  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
JOHN GATES  
LILLIAN GATES

[REDACTED]

JAMES E. JACKSON  
PAUL ROBESON, JR.

[REDACTED]

WILLIAM WIENSTONE  
DOXEY WILKERSON  
IRVING GOFF

[REDACTED]

GEORGE CHARNEY

[REDACTED]

BETTY GANNETT

[REDACTED]

CP, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
MEMBERSHIP ✓

NEGRO  
PAMPHLETS  
ENID FOGEL

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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PITTSBURGH (1 copy)

STEVE NELSON

SAN FRANCISCO (1 copy)

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

DOCUMENTATION

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION AND/ OR DATE ACTIVITY</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT RECEIVING</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
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[REDACTED]

2/8 to 12/57

2/13/57

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Following is a verbatim copy of informant's report:

"Cleveland, Ohio  
February 13, 1957

"At about 7 p.m. on February 8, 1957, [REDACTED] went by the residence of [REDACTED] Cleveland, Ohio, to get instructions from [REDACTED] prior to departing [REDACTED] for New York City for the purpose of attending the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA. [REDACTED] was not at home but his wife [REDACTED] gave [REDACTED] \$40.00 which he was to use to pay automobile expenses to and from the convention in New York City. It had been decided at a Communist Party meeting in [REDACTED] on February 5, 1957, that each automobile making the trip to New York would be furnished this amount of money to pay for the expenses of the trip. [REDACTED] was to have accompanied [REDACTED] to the National Convention but according to [REDACTED] would not attend the convention because his wife [REDACTED] is sick and will not be able to attend.

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"After leaving the [REDACTED] residence, [REDACTED] picked up [REDACTED] who was to accompany him to New York City to attend the Communist Party National Convntion; [REDACTED] being elected as an alternate delegate at the Communist Party State Convention held at [REDACTED] on January 27, 1957. [REDACTED] was elected as a delegate at the State Convention.

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"At approximately 9:30 a.m. on February 9, 1957, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] arrived in New York City and went directly to Chateau Gardens, 105 East Houston Street, Manhattan (lower East side), New York, as they had been instructed to do at the Communist Party meeting held in [REDACTED] on February 5, 1957. Upon arriving at the Gardens, [REDACTED] parked his automobile in a parking lot located directly

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[redacted]

"across the street, after which they entered Chateau Gardens to register for the National Convention and to make arrangements for housing accommodations while in New York City. Upon entering the hall we gave our names to a woman who had a list of names of the delegates and alternate delegates who were scheduled to attend the Convention. After telling this woman our names, she gave each of us a mimeographed sheet of paper requesting the number of years we had been members of the Communist Party, our age, the mass organization to which we belonged, and our position in the Party. In filling out this paper [redacted] indicated he had been a member of the Communist Party for nine years, that his mass organization is church work and housing, that he is 31 years of age and has no official position in the Communist Party.

"[redacted] and [redacted] then reported to a desk which was to take care of the housing accommodations for the delegates and alternate delegates while they were in New York City. Both [redacted] and [redacted] were assigned to stay with [redacted] and [redacted] Brooklyn, New York; the telephone number there being DE 9-4803. The woman at this desk, whose identity is unknown to me, informed [redacted] and [redacted] that [redacted] was a delegate to the Convention and that she would instruct him to contact them in order to make arrangements for them to go to his home that evening. Both [redacted] and [redacted] stayed at the residence of [redacted] on Saturday evening and Sunday evening. After having completed the registration and housing arrangements we waited at the convention hall for the Convention to get under way.

"At approximately 11 a.m. on February 9, 1957, the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, was called to order by FRED FINE. FINE introduced GEORGE CHARNEY, Chairman of the New York District Communist Party, who made the welcoming remarks to the delegation. During FINE's introduction of CHARNEY he stated that CHARNEY was the

[REDACTED]

"Chairman of the New York District Communist Party. After the remarks by CHARNEY, FRED FINE then introduced CARL WINTER, from Michigan, who was to be the Chairman of the Temporary Rules Committee at the Convention. WINTER then proceeded to give a report of the Temporary Rules Committee which outlined the rules and the agenda for the Convention. WINTER told the delegates that there was a kit for each of them which contained a mimeographed sheet of the proposed rules for the Convention. This mimeographed sheet of the proposed rules for the Convention is being attached to this report and will not be written out. I might add, however, that there was some modification of the proposed rules during the subsequent activities at the Convention, but I do not recall these modifications. The proposed rules were, in the main, adopted by the voting of the delegates on the floor at the Convention.

"After the proposed rules were adopted by the delegation at the Convention, WINTER announced that there was another mimeographed sheet in the kit which listed the proposed Convention agenda. The proposed Convention agenda is also attached to this report and will not be written out in this report. I might add at this point that during the subsequent activities of the Convention the proposed Convention agenda which was adopted by the delegates was changed on a number of occasions, however, it is impossible for me to recall the changes at this time.

"Prior to the adoption of the proposed rules and Convention agenda, a Steering Committee was appointed by the Temporary Rules Committee to be in charge of the proceedings at the Convention. The members of the Steering Committee were made up of the leading delegates from the different districts of the Party throughout the country. The only persons whom I recall to have been appointed to the Steering Committee are CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, from Illinois; CARL WINTER from Michigan; HYMAN LUMER from Ohio; and JAMES E. JACKSON from New York.

[REDACTED]

"After the adoption of the proposed rules and Convention agenda, [REDACTED] lead the Convention delegation in a memorial observance of some of those comrades who have been deceased. I do not recall the names of those persons mentioned in this memorial observance.

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"When [REDACTED] had completed the memorial observance a number of greetings were read to the delegation from different Communist Party organizations throughout the world. I recall that greetings were read from the following Communist Party organizations in other countries:

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"FRANCE  
Italy  
Bolivia  
Columbia  
Great Britain  
Austria  
Puerto Rico  
Netherlands  
Canada  
Czechoslovakia  
Soviet Union  
Ecuador  
San Salvador  
Formosa

"There were two Communist Party greetings from France, one being from the Communist Party organization there and the other from JACQUE DUCLOS. The DUCLOS greeting urged the Communist Party, USA, to reject the position advocated by the JOHN GATES faction in the Communist Party, USA, and to accept the position offered by the WILLIAM Z. FOSTER faction regarding the organization of the Communist Party, USA. The greetings indicated the position taken by JOHN GATES and his faction is that of a revisionist. The greetings from DUCLOS did not mention JOHN GATES and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER by name but it was clear that it was referring to them.

[REDACTED]

"After the reading of the greetings from the different Communist Party organizations throughout the world, the committees which were to function during the Convention were announced and they are as follows:

"Presiding Committee  
Resolutions Committee  
Constitution Committee  
Save Our Press Committee  
Credentials Committee  
Civil Liberties - Civil Rights Committee  
Plan of Work Committee  
Appeals Committee  
Elections and Leadership

"The Resolutions Committee was broken up into the following subcommittees:

- "1. International, national, anti-monopoly coalition.
- "2. Negro rights, Negro-white unity.
- "3. Communism and the labor movement.
- "4. American road to Socialism.
- "5. The Party.
- "6. Miscellaneous.

"The Constitution Committee was broken up into the following subcommittees:

- "1. Name and form.
- "2. Vanguard role and democratic centralism.
- "3. Preamble and purpose.
- "4. Rights, duties, and structure.



[REDACTED]

"Each of the committees listed above had co-chairmen and co-secretaries but I do not recall the identity of these co-chairmen and co-secretaries except in the case of the Civil Liberties Committee

[REDACTED] The co-chairmen of the Civil Liberties Committee were SIMON GERSON and WILLIAM L. PATTERSON. The identity of the co-secretaries of this committee are unknown to me. I do recall that [REDACTED] from Ohio was one of the co-chairmen of the Miscellaneous Subcommittee of the Resolutions Committee. Upon completion of the announcement of the co-chairmen and co-secretaries of the different committees, the Convention was recessed for lunch.

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"When the Convention was reconvened at approximately 3 p.m., additional fraternal greetings from other Communist Party organizations throughout the world were read. Upon completion of the reading of these greetings, the keynote speech was delivered by EUGENE DENNIS, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA. The text of DENNIS' address was mimeographed and given to the delegates in attendance and it is attached to this report. After the keynote address and additional fraternal greetings were read, the speech of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, was read by BEN DAVIS. A mimeographed copy of FOSTER's speech which was given to all delegates in attendance is attached to this report. I might say, however, that the highlights of FOSTER's SPEECH were his attacks on JOHN GATES position of changing the Party into a Communist education association. The speech called for a decisive vote on the part of the delegates in attendance to reject once and for all the position advocated by the GATES faction. The speech indicated that to continue discussion of the GATES proposal is a maneuver to wreck the Communist Party, USA.

[REDACTED]

"When DAVIS had completed reading FOSTER's speech he made a resolution that there be a revision in the adopted agenda whereby the entire Draft Resolution and the addresses by both DENNIS and FOSTER would be discussed in general prior to discussions of the other resolutions to be taken up during the Convention. This resolution aroused a rather heated debate on the floor of the Convention and it was decided to reject the DENNIS proposal.

"It was then announced that the various committees would begin their sessions that evening at 7 p.m., at the locations indicated on the mimeographed sheet which had been given to the delegates and alternate delegates. The Presiding Committee would meet at the convention hall (Chateau Gardens); Resolutions Committee - sixth floor, 101 West 16th Street; Constitution Committee - seventh floor, 101 West 16th Street; Save Our Press Committee, 104 Alhambra Building, 15 Second Avenue; Credentials Committee - Room 1, Alhambra Building, Second floor; Civil Liberties Committee - Room No. 2, Alhambra Building, Second floor; Plan of Work Committee - Room No. 3, Alhambra Building, Second floor; Appeals Committee, Room 704, National Theater; and Elections and Leadership, Room 500, National Theater. After the first meeting of these different committees they did not return to the locations listed above for additional meetings but instead held their meetings at the convention hall. After the announcement, the Convention was adjourned for dinner.

"After dinner the Civil Liberties Committee met at Room No. 2, Alhambra Building. There were approximately 15 members of this committee, but the only ones I can identify by name are [REDACTED] from Ohio; [REDACTED] from Ohio; SIMON GERSON from New York and WILLIAM PATTERSON from New York. I can possibly identify the remaining members of this committee from photographs. At the meeting of the Civil Liberties Committee it was decided to submit

[REDACTED]

"resolution on the Smith Act, resolution on Civil Rights of Political Prisoners, resolutions on the denial of unemployment compensation for Communists and a resolution on housing which was submitted by [REDACTED] from Ohio. It was also decided that a resolution would be submitted regarding individuals who had been indicted under the Conspiracy Section of the Taft-Hartley Act. All the resolutions were mimeographed and are being attached to this report. During the meeting of the Civil Liberties Committee there were differences of opinion among the delegates as to how the resolutions should be worded and where emphasis should be placed; but by and large the delegates were in agreement and thought the resolutions should be submitted in the report to the Convention. Upon completion of the meeting of the different committees, the Convention was adjourned until 10:30 a.m., Sunday, February 10, 1957.

"Sunday Session - February 10, 1957

"The February 10, 1957, session of the 16th National Convention, Communist Party, USA, was reconvened at Chateau Gardens, 105 East Houston Street, Manhattan, New York, at approximately 10:30 a.m.

"The first order of business at this session of the Convention was a report of the Constitution Subcommittee No. 1 having to do with "name and form". This report proposed that there not be any stigmatizing of those individuals who advocate a change in the name and form of the Party; that there was a unanimous decision on the part of the members of this subcommittee to maintain the Party as is at the present time. The committee then submitted a resolution to the Convention which had the following four parts:

- "1. That this Convention go on record to affirm the continuance of the Communist Party, USA.

- [REDACTED]
- "2. That they oppose the transformation of the Party into a political or educational association.
  - "3. Should not close the door on people with varying positions.
  - "4. That some ideas are revisionist, but that it would be wrong to label any ideas as revisionism per se without further investigation and study.

"When this resolution was submitted to the Convention there was heated discussion by the delegates on the floor of the Convention, but the resolution was finally passed by a majority vote of the delegates. During the discussion on this resolution, GEORGE CHARNEY stated that he advocates a change in the Party and that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is wrong in labeling those people who advocate a change in the Party as revisionists, liquidationists and pro-Titoists.

"JOHN GATES also spoke and stated that he will continue to advocate for the formation of a political or educational association and that this is the only way by which the Communist Party, USA, can solve its problem of isolation from the masses. SID STEIN, Resolutions Committee Chairman, stated that the Communist Party, USA, has already changed and that there is truly a democratic discussion going on within the Party at the present time and that there is no one-way street for all the answers of the problems of the Communist Party, USA. STEIN also stated that there are some people who charge that some of the members conciliate with the left group within the Party and that other members conciliate with the right group within the Party, but the Resolutions Committee feels the Convention should support the position taken by the Communist Party National Committee. This position would be unity within the Party.

"HYMAN LUMER from Ohio, reported for the Subcommittee No. 1 of the Resolutions Committee which was called 'International, National, Anti-Monopoly Coalition'. With respect to the position of peaceful

[REDACTED]

"co-existence, LUMER stated the Subcommittee is of the opinion that there is need to fight for the validity of this concept. LUMER stated that peaceful co-existence is not an accomplished fact but there is need to fight for its accomplishment. After LUMER finished speaking WILLIAM WEINSTONE of New York got up and stated the resolution on peaceful co-existence should expose the role of the reactionary American Imperialism to a greater extent than it does at the present time. After the debate on this resolution it was accepted by the Convention delegation.

"A resolution on 'The Situation Today for a Prosperous America; For an End to Poverty; For a New Program of Social Advance' which was mimeographed and given to the delegates was adopted by the Convention delegation.

"Amendments No. 3 to the draft resolution on form and name was adopted by the Convention delegation. This Amendment was mimeographed and passed to the delegates and a copy is being attached to this report.

"Although there were some amendments on the resolution 'The Path Ahead' it was basically accepted by the Convention in its original form. A mimeographed copy of this resolution was furnished to the delegates and is being attached to this report.

"The resolution on Negro work was accepted by the Convention. This resolution was also mimeographed and a copy is being attached to this report.

"The resolution on 'Social Democracy' was tabled, however, a mimeographed copy of this resolution is being submitted with this report. The reason for this resolution being tabled was because of the heated discussion which took place with respect to whether there should be a peaceful-constitutional road to Socialism in the United States.

[REDACTED]

"The reporter, whose name I do not recall, for the Resolutions Subcommittee No. 4 which is 'On the American Road to Socialism' stated there has been broad agreement among the members of the Subcommittee for a peaceful and constitutional road to Socialism in the United States. After the discussion which took place on the American Road to Socialism, the Convention adjourned until 10:30 a.m., Monday morning, February 11, 1957.

"Monday Session - February 11, 1957

"The first order of business for the Monday session, February 11, 1957, of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, which convened at Chateau Gardens concerned the 'Draft Trade Union Resolution' which was mimeographed and is attached to this report. This resolution was accepted by the Convention with few changes.

"During the discussions dealing with the amendments to Part 4 of the Draft Resolution dealing with the Party, there was a heated discussion on the nature of the errors which have been committed by the Communist Party, USA. A majority report and a minority report was given on this resolution. The majority report indicated that left sectarianism had been the main error committed by the Party. The minority report indicated there was not enough emphasis of the growing right danger within the Party. Due to the heated discussion that took place on this resolution, it was referred back to the committee and was later resubmitted to the Convention and was accepted. Amendments to Part 4 of the Draft Resolution dealing with the Party were mimeographed and given to the delegates and a copy is being attached to this report. The writer was not in a position to determine the changes which took place to this resolution when it was referred back to the committee.

"The third item of business on the agenda at this session was a report from the Credentials Committee. This report was as follows:

- 
- "1. That there were 25 States represented at the Convention.
  - "2. That there were 298 delegates, of which 209 were males.
  - "3. That there was one fraternal delegate.
  - "4. That there were 56 alternate delegates.
  - "5. That there were 165 guests.
  - "6. That there were 54 Negro, two Mexican and two Puerto Rican delegates.

"This report also reflected that there were five delegates in attendance between the age 18-25; 39 delegates between the age 26-35; 126 delegates between the age 36-45; 90 delegates between the age 46-55; 14 delegates between the age 56-65 and five delegates over 65 years of age. The report indicated there were five delegates in attendance who had been in the Party five years or less; three delegates who had been members of the Party between six and ten years; 25 delegates who had been members of the Party between 11 and 15 years; 65 delegates who had been members of the Party between 16 and 20 years; 83 delegates who had been members of the Party between 21 and 25 years and 72 delegates who had been members of the Party over 25 years. The report also indicated 50 of the delegates were Smith Act Defendants; that there were 15 delegates at the Convention from the National leadership of the Party; 55 delegates from the State leadership of the Communist Party; 37 from the County leadership of the Communist Party; 34 delegates from the section committees of the Communist Party; 15 delegates who were Club Chairmen; two Regional Communist Party Directors and five delegates from the Youth Committees of the Communist Party. With respect to mass work, the Credentials Committee report indicated there were three farmers in attendance, 80 delegates who are in Trade Union mass

[REDACTED]

"work, 34 in Negro mass work, two in Mexican mass work, 17 in Parent Teacher Association mass work, one in student mass work and ten in community mass work. Five other delegates are in Jewish mass work.

"After the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee by the Convention delegates, there was a resolution to move the national office of the Communist Party, USA, from New York City to Chicago, Illinois. This resolution proposed that the national office be moved within one year from the date of this convention. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the delegates in attendance at the convention and was the only resolution adopted unanimously.

"After the resolution regarding changing the location of the national office, there was a report from the Elections Committee. This report included four principles to be considered in electing the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA:

- "1. That the incoming National Committee leadership include all points of view.
- "2. That new forces and fresh leadership must be brought in.
- "3. That representatives from the Districts to the National Committee should have additional Negro comrades and young comrades.
- "4. That the style of work of the leadership be revised.

"The fourth principle implies the getting rid of the dogmatic ways of dealing with the membership.

"The resolution of the Elections Committee presented the following seven proposals:



- [REDACTED]
- "1. That the National Committee should be made up of 60 members.
  - "2. That one-third of the members of the National Committee should be elected as members-at-large and the remaining two-thirds be elected from the Districts.
  - "3. That the members of the National Committee be elected at the Convention by District Caucuses.
  - "4. That two-thirds of the representatives to the National Committee from the Districts be apportioned as follows:
    - "a. New York - 11 members.
    - "b. California - 5 members.
    - "c. Illinois - 4 members.
    - "d. New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio - 2 members each.
    - "e. New England, Western Pennsylvania, Maryland, Indiana, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Oregon, Washington and Idaho - one member each.
  - "5. That comrades who are now in prison be elected to membership of the National Committee.
  - "6. General officers such as General Secretary and National Chairman will not be elected at this Convention.
  - "7. That the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee compose a Temporary Secretariat and that these 20 members meet as a Nominating Committee to elect the officers of the National Committee.

"The above resolution was adopted in total by the Convention.

[REDACTED]

"After the adoption of this resolution, the Convention adjourned for dinner and due to other commitments, this writer was not able to attend the remaining sessions of the Convention. This adjournment took place at approximately 6:30 p.m.

"I recognized the following persons as delegates, alternate delegates or visitors as being in attendance at one or all sessions of the Convention that I attended:

[REDACTED] - Ohio.

[REDACTED] - Ohio.

[REDACTED] - Michigan.

[REDACTED] - New York.

[REDACTED] - Ohio.

[REDACTED] - Ohio.

BEN DAVIS - New York.

EUGENE DENNIS - New York.

EARL DURHAM - New York.

FRED M. FINE - Illinois.

JAMES FORD - New York.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER - New York.

JOHN GATES - New York.

LILLIAN GATES - New York.

[REDACTED] - New York.

JAMES E. JACKSON - New York.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] - Ohio.

[Redacted] - Ohio.

[Redacted] - Ohio.

[Redacted] - Ohio.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT - Illinois.

HYMAN LUMER - Ohio.

STEVE NELSON - Pennsylvania.

PAUL ROBESON, JR. - New York.

MICHAEL A. RUSSO - Massachusetts.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN - California.

[Redacted] - Ohio.

[Redacted] - Ohio.

[Redacted] - New Jersey.

GEORGE WATT - New York.

WILLIAM WIENSTONE - New York.

[Redacted] - Ohio.

[Redacted] - Illinois.

[Redacted] - Illinois.

DOXEY WILKERSON - New York.

CARL WINTER - Michigan.

[Redacted] - Ohio.

[redacted]

"IRVING GOFF - New York.

[redacted] - New York.

GEORGE CHARNEY - New York.

[redacted] - New York.

WILLIAM PATTERSON - New York.

[redacted] - Minnesota.

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[redacted]

BETTY GANNETT

[redacted] - (visitor).

[redacted] (visitor) wife of [redacted]

[redacted] - New York.

"It is possible that I can identify additional persons in attendance through their photographs.

"Each delegate in attendance at the Convention was given a blue identification card upon which was printed 'Delegate - 16th National Convention Communist Party, USA, Feb. 9-10-11-12, 1957, New York City'. The number on the card issued to [redacted] The alternate delegates to the Convention were given yellow identification cards bearing the same inscription as those issued to the delegates except for the word 'Alternate' appearing before delegate.

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"As additional information to this report, [redacted] was overheard to state that [redacted] and [redacted] have resigned from the Communist Party. [redacted] also stated that [redacted] who was formerly head of student work in the Labor Youth League had also resigned from the Communist Party. [redacted] also stated that EARL DURHAM had been permitted to sit in

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[REDACTED]

"on the discussions and deliberations of the Communist Party National Committee and DURHAM has stated there is a great deal of bitterness and dissension among the members of the National Committee.

[REDACTED] stated that DOXEY WILKERSON could not be elected as a delegate to the Convention from his section of the Party because of the position he had taken with respect to the Negro question and as a result, had to be elected from another area.

[REDACTED] also stated there are Negro Party members in New York City who do not speak to each other because of the split with respect to the Negro question.

[REDACTED] indicated this split is caused by the fact that one faction advocates that the Negroes in the United States constitute a nation, whereas the other group denies this theory. [REDACTED] stated he takes the position that the Negroes in the United States do not constitute a nation.

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"Since it was impossible for the writer to attend the Monday evening and Tuesday sessions of the Convention, it was impossible to determine the identities of the individuals elected to the National Committee and the identity of the National leadership - the latter being the General Secretary and National Chairman. I believe, however, that three individuals from Ohio were elected to membership on the National Committee. HYMAN LUMER was elected by the Ohio delegation as a delegate-at-large and [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were elected as regular members to the National Committee. With respect to the election of the National Chairman and General Secretary of the Party, I got the impression from discussions taking place at the convention that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER will probably continue as the National Chairman and EUGENE DENNIS will continue as General Secretary. This could change, however, if several members of the GATES faction are elected to the National Committee.

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[REDACTED]

"In addition to the mimeographed literature which I have previously indicated as being attached to this report, the following additional items of literature are being attached, all of which were received at the 16th National Communist Party, USA, Convention:

- "1. A two-page mimeographed paper entitled, 'Draft for Civil-Liberties Rights Committee'.
- "2. An 11-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Appeal to the National Convention of the Communist Party by HARRIET TUBMAN Section, Essex County, New Jersey'.
- "3. A 17-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Revisionism and the Negro Question - An Answer to DOXEY WILKERSON' by [REDACTED]
- "4. A one-page document entitled, 'Proposed Substitute for Paragraph B on Page 19 of Draft Resolution'.
- "5. A one-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Proposed Addition to Draft Resolution - Part I: Regarding International Situation'.
- "6. A one-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Proposed Substitute for Paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 on Page 20 of Draft Resolution'.
- "7. A one-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Amendment I to Draft Resolution'.
- "8. A one-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Amendment II to Draft Resolution'.
- "9. A three-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Additions to Trade Union Resolution.'
- "10. A six-page mimeographed document entitled, 'Draft Constitution of the Communist Party Preamble'.

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[REDACTED]

"11. The 'Call to the 16th National Convention, Communist Party, USA' which was signed by the CP, USA National Committee.

"To further clarify the election of members to the Communist Party National Committee, it was announced that Ohio would have two members on this Committee and that they would be elected by a caucus of the delegation on the floor of the Convention. During this caucus the Ohio delegation, led in this discussion by HYMAN LUMER decided that they would nominate LUMER as a member-at-large and [REDACTED] as regular members. This election had not taken place when the writer left the Convention. [REDACTED] was Chairman of the Ohio delegation to the Convention.

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"The housing resolution introduced by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] in the meeting of the Civil Liberties-Civil Rights Committee was as follows:

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"That the federal government, municipal, state, and local government legislate laws prohibiting restrictions on housing based upon religions and racial prejudices."

4/19/57

AIRTEL

RM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
IS-C

Reurairtel 4/16/57.

Following information is furnished by [redacted] on 4/19/57 to SA JOHN A. HAAG.

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1. Analysis of the Present Situation Existing Within the CP, USA Today

The CP, USA, since the secret KHRUSHCHEV report has suffered extensive losses both in membership and in the fellow traveller category. This continues unabated and encompasses not only the lower echelon, but also the top circles. This situation is characterized by political disillusionment and extensive proof of the falsity of the heretofore impregnable theories of Marxism. It may be referred to as a process of political, ideological and moral undermining of the CP. The recent public resignations of HOWARD FAST and JOHN STEUBEN are but two of the hundreds of other unpublicized resignations of people of similar stature in the CP. This internal crisis has so weakened the Party, we may expect it to continue in the immediate period ahead, because the conditions creating it continue to exist and the Party leadership has been unable to devise an acceptable program or other measures to create a basis for a new situation in the CP. Therefore, in the period ahead, the leadership of the CP will continue to exist in a factional,

3 - Bureau (100-3) (RM)

9 - New York (100-4931) (19-1)

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- (1 - 100-79717) (CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-80040) (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-89590) (CP, USA STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-87211) (CP, USA FACTIONALISM) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19-1)

100-80638-1190

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

*J. Waters*

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AIRTEL

PAGE TWO

divided and confused state of affairs.

2. Expected CP Program in the Coming Months

A. Despite this condition of factionalism mentioned above, the leadership of the CP will make efforts to get the remnants of the CP into "mass work". This work will be in the direction of attempting to develop itself in the areas of civil rights, school desegregation and Negro peoples movements, such as the present effort to penetrate the "Pilgrimage of Prayer" to Washington, D.C. on 5/17/57.

B. In an attempt to regroup some of the Party's losses in the labor movement, the leadership is paying attention to and in a confused way trying to figure out how it can make the most out of the revelations of racketeering in unions. A continuation of the old industrial concentration plan is contemplated, but with only a modest effort to get people into key industries.

C. It is expected that on the political front the CP will strive to effectuate a relocation of its remaining strength into local and area organizations of the Republican and Democratic Parties. The CP has abandoned the third party venture and independent political movements.

D. In the field of foreign policy, the CP will continue to vociferously attack the foreign policy of the USA, but, in its treatment of the Soviet block of nations, their foreign policy will be treated by the CP in either of the two following manners: If the Party leadership is personified by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, the Soviet foreign policy will be steadfastly championed and defended. If, however, CP leadership is personified by JOHN GATES, the CP line will not necessarily be anti-Soviet, but may be expected to be more critical of the Soviet Union and the Soviet block of nations if a question calls for such criticism. This will be in line with the GATES' crowds' desire to establish their "independence" from Moscow. They will, however, in reality, be veering closer to the "Tito block". In any case, both groups may be relied upon to constantly condemn and seek

AIRTEL

PAGE THREE

to mobilize against the decisions in foreign policy by the U.S. Government.

E. With the tremendous money shortage in the Party, plus the loss of trust in the leadership, the loss of membership and the breaking up of the lower organizations of the CP, indications are that the leadership will strive to strengthen the Party, win back old members, recruit new members and otherwise try to halt the disintegration presently going on. Steps are underway to canvass every lost member and undertake certain modest recruiting objectives.

However, if any of the foregoing materialize, it will be completely dependent upon the direction in which the present internal struggle develops. The possibility is that a complete split might eventually develop within the CP. Such a split will find FOSTER in control of what will be left of the Party. The largest number of resignations from the Party are among those of what might be considered the GATES' camp. The "old guard" continues to cling to the FOSTER camp. These resignations leave GATES weaker in the Party. If they continue, the GATES' forces may feel that nothing further can be gained by staying in the CP, and further, FOSTER is determined to drive them out of the CP. This leads to the conclusion which the GATES' crowd has admitted to that unless they establish a victory over FOSTER within the CP soon, the GATES crowd will lose and may be expected to quit voluntarily or be forced out by FOSTER. FOSTER gives every indication of pursuing such a course.

KELLY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 4/19/57	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/14/57-4/17/57
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH V. WATERS	TYPED BY
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

SYNOPSIS:

QUARTERLY PERIOD  
January 1 to April 17, 1957

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, CP National Committee member, has termed announced movement of national office of CP, USA to Chicago, Illinois, as irresponsible and expensive, would cost \$20,000 to \$30,000, as well as loss of several sources of funds. Three-story and penthouse building at 23 West 26th St., NYC, bought on behalf of NY State CP for use as CP national and State offices. Move to there scheduled to take place about 4/1/57. SIMON W. GERSON, had been appointed Executive Editor of "Daily Worker", according to informant, on 3/7/57, with possibility reported of JOHN GATES resigning as Editor-in-Chief to devote time to political

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 7 - Bureau (100-3) (RM) 1 - G-2, 7th Army (RM) 1 - ONI, 3rd MD, NYC (RM) 1 - OSI, 2nd DSI/District, USAF (RM) 1 - All Offices (RM) 4 - New York (100-4937)		100	80638-1191
<i>[Large circular stamp and handwritten notes]</i>		SEARCHED.....INDEXED..... SERIALIZED.....FILED..... APR 24 1956 FBI - NEW YORK <i>[Signature]</i>	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

struggle in National Committee. Resignation of GATES sought by FOSTER and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS since 16th National Convention in February, 1957. FOSTER reported expressing opinion on 3/14/57, that none knew what actually happened at convention, with resolutions so revised no one knew final result. Editorial prepared by National Committee for publication in April, 1957 "Political Affairs" asserts some say no unity achieved at convention, only compromise of principle - an assertion not believed by Committee to be borne out by facts. At National Committee meeting of 3/14/57, Committee voted six to three against calling for GATES' resignation from "Daily Worker". First meeting of full National Committee to be held 4/27 and 28/57. 1956 income of CP, USA, \$111,468.73, with expenditures listed as \$137,155.55. Assets of CP, USA as of 1/31/57, \$14,276.53, with liabilities of \$27,469.25. Informant has reported on 1/1/57, that EUGENE DENNIS, National Committee member, had asserted that CP currently has no illegal apparatus. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, National Committee member, reported by informant on 3/11/57, to have stated CP will fall to pieces if fight for leadership continued and was not resolved in immediate future. Same informant states no agreement prevails on what occurred at convention and while some resolutions were adopted, few policy matters were settled. JOHN WILLIAMSON, former member of National Committee, now resident in England, reported as having written FOSTER he had positive estimate of convention but regarded method of electing leadership as incorrect, that resolution on Marxism-Leninism was "class room approach" and not in accord with Marxist-Leninist theory

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SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

and he believed "Daily Worker" had definite bias. March 19, 1957 "Daily Worker," referring to Middle East in editorial, urged that opposing sides be brought together through UN and that American and Soviet governments should take initiative in this. It pointed out that USSR had asked for summit conference and Administration, by refusing, aggravated tensions in this crisis. The 1/14/57 "Daily Worker" criticized US for Smith Act trial in Puerto Rico as violation of national rights of Puerto Ricans and as act of colonialist vengeance against those advocating independence. January, 1957 "Political Affairs" article asserts that labor and its political allies, with respect to 85th Congress, will press for program of social and economic legislation, this including tax relief, raising minimum wage, increased social security benefits and farm legislation, as well as Congressional investigation of monopolies. Communists were said to be dedicated to fight for people's program and movement. Editorial in 3/14/57 "Daily Worker" urges public demand that government take initiative in stopping all future nuclear tests. 2/18/57 "Daily Worker" called editorially for bi-partisan stand for passage of civil rights legislation and agreement to break anti-civil rights deadlock. National Committee on 3/14/57, announced series of articles to appear in "The Worker" beginning 3/31/57, dealing with Congressional probe of racketeering and its anti-labor objectives, union democracy and anti-labor legislation, with statement by Committee on these issues promised. In statement published in 3/28/57 "Daily Worker"

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

CP charged probe cannot be relied upon to do much because it does not go to root of that evil or of capitalist system and hearings are used by those interested in "dead" labor movement, not "clean" one. CP reported by informant to be desirous of supporting march on Washington scheduled for on or about 5/17/57, aimed at securing Presidential commitment on desegregation in South. By memo to all districts on 3/14/57, Interim Party Committee asserts struggle for Negro equality centers around demands for: (1) federal intervention and Presidential statement against terror and upholding of Supreme Court decisions on segregation, (2) civil rights legislation. 3/6/57 letter of CP to all National Committee members notes resolution of Convention Sub-Committee on Youth Work proposing national conference on youth in May, 1957, failure of Party work among youth during last 10 years being noted. Labor Youth League dissolved at its convention held 2/23 and 24/57. 3/10/57 "Worker" editorial noted discrimination suffered by Negro women because of race and sex and, therefore, equal pay for equal work by women was urged for high priority. [redacted] National Committee member, in convention discussion bulletin of 1/1/57, suggested that key to farm unity and farm-labor unity is "anti-monopoly position". Representatives of California CP at National Committee meeting on 2/6 and 7/57, passed out memo on culture which urged new attitude, pointing out role of culture in social change and urging it be made part of Party life and that library of Marxist creative works and pieces of art be assembled. PAUL NOVICK,

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NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

Editor of "Morning Freiheit", at its convention held 1/12 and 13/57, asserted paper continues to have positive position toward Socialist countries, but since 20th Congress of CP, SU, paper is applying constructive criticism and is continuing educational work to correct mistakes in nationality question and rejuvenated Soviet-Jewish culture. "Morning Freiheit" of 3/31/57, reported \$151,254.00 collected in 1957 campaign for \$200,000. Article in the "Worker", 2/10/57, asserts Negro church is re-enacting days of early Christianity and Negro ministers are mass teachers and leaders of world problems and thought. New Century Publishers preparing for publication a 256 page book reporting convention proceedings, along with main resolution and constitution adopted by convention in pamphlet form. At end of 1956, "Daily Worker" assets were \$28,785.60 with liabilities of \$143,139.53. Circulation of the "Daily Worker" as of March, 1957, was 6,700 and "The Worker", 14,000, lowest in history. Informant furnished "Memorandum on Proposed Marxist Research Center" dated 1/30/57, to replace closed JSSS, with general aims of study of developments in Marxist and other working class people's movements abroad and analyzing significance for US, interpreting Marxist thought to increasingly large numbers and furthering "citizenship" of Marxism in US intellectual life as well as promoting relations between Marxist and socialist-minded and non-Marxist scholars. Among activities proposed are preparation and publication of books, pamphlets, etcetera, and conduct of forums on theoretical and ideological questions.

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SECRET

NY 100-4931

All informants mentioned in this report have furnished reliable information in the past, or were in a position to furnish reliable information.

This is a joint report of pertinent activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) during the quarterly period, January 1, 1957, to March 31, 1957, prepared by the following Special Agents:

GUSTAV S. ABRAHNT

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

JOHN F. LANGTRY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALPHONSE J. SUTKUS

[REDACTED]

JOSEPH V. WATERS

[REDACTED]

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- 2 -

NY 100-4931

MEMBERSHIP

(Bureau file 100-3-68)

(New York file 100-80638)

This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH V.  
WATERS.

No pertinent information was developed during  
the period of this report.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

JVW:rlf

- 1 -

NY 100-4931

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report have been designated for all offices, in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activities of the CP, USA for the quarterly period, 4/1/57 to 6/30/57.

REFERENCE: Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 3/6/57, NY.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
 SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
 ORGANIZATION  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 4/23/57

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

Re Chicago letter dated April 18, 1957, containing information from CG 5824-S\* concerning conversations with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA and Chairman of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District. It is noted that LIGHTFOOT was in New York City during the week of April 7, 1957, and while in New York City, he attended a meeting of the resident National Committee of the Communist Party - USA.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

15 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
- (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
- (1 - 100-81675) (CP - USA, Pamphlets & Publications) (#19)
- (1 - 100-88624) (CP - USA, International Relations) (#19)
- (1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2) (#12-14)
- (1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press) (#7-2)
- (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#12-8)
- (1 - 100-14606) (JOSEPH CLARK) (#20-11)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
- (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
- (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
- (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19)
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#19)
- (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19)

6 - Chicago

- (1 - A/134-46)
- (1 - 100-19431) (CP - USA, Strategy in Industry)
- (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
- (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

JHK: kw  
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*Waters*

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#19  
*[Handwritten signature]*

CG 100-18953

CG 5824-S\* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on April 18, 1957, that he had learned that MORRIS CHILDS and SAM KUSHNER, members-at-large of the District Committee of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District, were further briefed by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on developments in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA on that date.

Communist Party - USA National Leadership

CG 5824-S\* advised that LIGHTFOOT stated that the Sub-committee on Leadership, composed of FRED FINE, EUGENE DENNIS, JAMES JACKSON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and SID STEIN, is scheduled to meet again prior to the first meeting of the full National Committee on April 27-28, 1957. Thus, LIGHTFOOT plans to return to New York City on or about April 24, 1957, to attend a meeting of this sub-committee. LIGHTFOOT stated that in addition to the proposal that EUGENE DENNIS be the Chairman of the Communist Party - USA, the Sub-committee on Leadership plans to recommend to the full National Committee that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER be made a Chairman emiritus of the Communist Party - USA.

LIGHTFOOT stated that this sub-committee will also recommend the following:

That there be no National Secretariat but that a National Board, composed of no more than thirteen persons, be established. This National Board would be the leading body in the Communist Party - USA between meetings of the National Committee. The national officers - that is, the Chairman, the three Vice Presidents and the Executive Secretary - would meet daily but would not decide on policy matters. The National Board would meet on an average of once a month to decide policy questions. The full National Committee would not meet more than twice a year. The reason for this proposal would be two-fold. One reason would be the unwieldy political composition of a National Committee of sixty members. The other reason would be the cost of these meetings. It is estimated that the expenses involved for a meeting of the full National Committee would be between \$8,000 and \$10,000.

LIGHTFOOT stated that possibly Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and New York would have one representative on the National Board, with the remaining members selected from the members-at-large on the National Committee.

CG 100-18953

CG 5824-S\* also advised that LIGHTFOOT said that a proposal will be made to have regional meetings of National Committee members. For example, National Committee members on the East coast would meet together, those in the Midwest would meet together, and those in the West and far West would meet together. The purpose of these regional meetings would be to discuss decisions arrived at by the National Board.

Location of the National Headquarters  
of the Communist Party - USA

LIGHTFOOT stated that there was very little talk in the National Office about moving the headquarters from New York City to Chicago. He stated, however, that if FRED FINE is placed in charge of trade union work, there there is a good possibility that the Trade Union Department of the National Office will be the first department to move from New York City to Chicago.

The "Daily Worker"

LIGHTFOOT again talked about the "Daily Worker". He said that the sub-committee of the resident National Committee in charge of the "Daily Worker" consists of JACK STACHEL, who is the Chairman, JAMES JACKSON, SID STEIN and JOHN GATES. This sub-committee, according to LIGHTFOOT, is called the Sub-committee on Publications, but thus far it has been concerned only with the "Daily Worker".

LIGHTFOOT stated that at the resident National Committee meeting, STACHEL gave a political report on the "Daily Worker" and that he used charts and graphs in making this report. LIGHTFOOT stated that STACHEL pointed out that the analysis showed that the political line of the "Daily Worker" has not been bad, except on two items. These two items are foreign policy and the reporting of the National Convention of the Communist Party - USA. STACHEL agreed with comments by BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER that the "Daily Worker" stories on the National Convention were slanted.

LIGHTFOOT further stated that during the discussion the majority of those present at this resident National Committee meeting agreed that JOE CLARK's articles on foreign affairs have been incorrect. LIGHTFOOT stated that the consensus of opinion

CG 100-18953

was that JOE must go, even if JOHN GATES is not removed as the Editor of the paper.

LIGHTFOOT also stated that in New York, an emergency conference on the "Daily Worker" was held recently. According to LIGHTFOOT, every section and club in the New York District was supposed to send a representative to this conference, and that the entire staff of the "Daily Worker" attended the conference. LIGHTFOOT stated that even though this was supposed to be a conference dealing with the life or death of the "Daily Worker", there was just no response and the total attendance was seventy.

The New York Communist Party District

LIGHTFOOT stated that GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY is not playing any role and that he is almost passive. He stated that the talk around New York is that New York is no longer the leading District in the Communist Party - USA in regard to total membership, as the District has lost as many members as the stories reflect. LIGHTFOOT stated that the talk in New York is that thousands of members have become "disconnected" from the Communist Party, since the National Convention, and it is doubtful that the organization can be rebuilt.

LIGHTFOOT commented that the crisis in the Communist Party - USA is deep.

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1214)

FROM: SA PAUL J. NEUMANN

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
 DISTRICT NUMBER 2  
 HARLEM REGION  
 IS-C

DATE: MAY 1 1957

Source [redacted]  
 Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past.  
 Concealment Cover by T symbol  
 Date of activity 3/11/57  
 Date Received 3/15/57  
 Received by SA EDWARD J. MULHOLLAND  
 Location [redacted]

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[redacted] advised on 3/15/57 that a CP joint committee meeting of the Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Jamaica Sections of the CP was held at 402 West 146th Street, NYC, on 3/11/57.

- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-042 (CP, USA, DISTRICT # 2, NY COUNTY) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-0263 (CP, USA DISTRICT #2, BEDFORD STUYVESANT SECTION (#12-11)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-0358 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, JAMAICA SECTION) (#12-13)
- 1 - NY 100-80640 (CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128815 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, NEGRO QUESTION) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128821 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2 FACTIONALISM) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128819 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (#19)

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COPIES CONTINUED

- 1 - NY 100-74560 (CP, USA FUNDS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128818 (CP, USA DISTRICT NUMBER 2, LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, USA DISTRICT #2 MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- ① - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128825 (CP, USA DISTRICT NUMBER 2 COLONIAL MATTERS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128809 (CP, USA DISTRICT #2 STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-80641A (CP, USA ORGANIZATION, SIXTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION) (#19)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER)
- [REDACTED]
- 1 - NY 100-101849 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-50806 (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-9364 (JIM FORD)
- 1 - NY 100-95789 [REDACTED]
- 1 - NY 100-102357 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES)
- 1 - NY 100-81495 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-85936 [REDACTED]
- 1 - NY 100-62955 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-112059 [REDACTED] (#12-16)

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NY 100-26603-C12-14

Source	[redacted]
Reliability	Who is in a position to furnish reliable information
Concealment	Cover by T symbol
Date of activity	3/11/57
Date received	3/11/57
Received by	
Location	Instart memo

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[redacted] furnished the following information regarding the above described meeting held on 3/11/57 at Bermuda Hall, 402 West 146th Street, NYC: The meeting was opened by the election of Comrade [redacted] (PH) [redacted] as Chairlady for the evening.

Speaker - Comrade PAULIE (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)

Regarding the party's purpose "to our program for Negro work" PAULIE remarked, "I would just like to say a few things. One that really the most important thing of this meeting is that comrades who are in that work, comrades who have ties with the Negro and various movements, Communists who can discuss on a basis of concrete experience what the fundamental concepts of the role of our party and the method in which we can make the party function in a proper way and fight for a program which will furnish us a real struggle is really the purpose of this meeting." In commenting about the forthcoming State Convention, PAULIE stated there was a need for some specific ideas and approaches relative to the fight for concepts that promise to be crucial in the framework of discussion about Negro work at the Convention. He remarked that the membership of the party has come to grips with the problem of how to fight for the role of the party, for the very existence of their party and for the fundamental concepts of its line. In speaking of the Negro question, PAULIE stated, "There is only one interpretation and that is we have to fight for the content of that program of struggle

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"and in this framework one can talk of developing unity of the party in struggle not unity around just interpretations of what a resolution said, but unity around the class content of a struggle."

PAULIE then went on to mention the Negro mass struggle in the South, how the party can help to give new content to the struggle and how the party can "help point directions of next steps in that struggle." He discussed the need for linking mass struggles in the North to those struggles in the South and the necessity for ending the isolation within the party. Continuing, PAULIE expressed his concern over the role the party should play in explaining to Negro people internationalism, "American imperialism," the events in Hungary and solidarity with colonial people. In discussing the leadership of the party, PAULIE stated, "We have to guarantee a leadership which is representative in terms of the role of the party which must be asserted, must be developed." He further stated the leadership has to be committed to a policy of developing those unknown comrades who will be the leaders of the future.

In conclusion, PAULIE remarked with regard to the coming State Convention, "How we have to approach it in the framework of what are the basic concepts, the basic content in our program that we have to fight for based on the role that our party must play based on the Negroes, based on class struggle. What are the fundamental concepts that must be guaranteed? That in that framework how can we reflect our feelings on these fundamental concepts within the State Convention, within paths of Negro rights and within the frame work of guaranteeing a leadership that can really lead our party in the right direction?"

Speaker - Comrade [redacted]

Comrade [redacted] spoke on the birth of the new nation of Ghana and remarked, "The Negro people have

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"celebrated this tremendous victory with which we, who are here, who are constantly discussing our international role, took no part." He emphasized that the Negro must be conscious of his role internationally.

Before the next speaker was introduced, Comrade [redacted] was elected Secretary of the meeting.

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Speaker - Comrade [redacted]

Comrade [redacted] in his opening remark stated in his opinion white chauvinism in the United States is hindering the developing of the world. "American imperialists would give their life's blood to be rid of the Negro question in the United States. It is a millstone around their neck." He stated those present should join the progressive movement of Negro people in the world and make contributions to this movement. Comrade [redacted] called for the uniting of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups in a united struggle in the fight for freedom. Of primary concern in the fight for a program on behalf of these groups are the roles that must be played by the women and youth in instituting ideas and giving leadership.

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Comrade [redacted] went on to say that the unemployment situation is getting worse and that their standard of living must be maintained. He discussed the role of the trade union movement in relation to the Negro Movement. In this regard he said that "we" must work directly in trade unions and influence these organizations.

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He concluded by saying that it was necessary to have people in the State leadership of the party who will work and see to it that "we" win the struggle of liberation.

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Speaker - Comrade [redacted]

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This speaker remarked, "We in America must derive strength from what is happening internationally and find ways to link up the liberation of the whole world with struggles in our own country. It is not enough to celebrate the international situation alone, but must be concerned locally as well." She said, "Listen to the leaders of the South in their plea to us to struggle against segregation so that this will help their struggle as well as ours."

Comrade [redacted] stated the, "so-called creative Marxists" of today have put blocks in the path of other Marxists in relation to their work in the trade union movement and for this reason "we cannot subject ourselves to holding back." She said there are some in the party who think that American imperialism has a future of continued prosperity, but "not us" and we do not intend to be outclassed by comrades who are disillusioned." [redacted] said there are some comrades meeting in small groups who are not concerned with Negroes or the working class and stated further that they should not let other comrades stop them from struggling. She remarked that she comes from the working class and has been in the "movement" since 1948.

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In referring to Negro representation on committees at various levels she said creative Marxists always claim that inasmuch as Negroes comprise ten percent of the population in this country, they should accordingly be given ten percent representation on committees that are made. She stated that this ten percent representation was not Marxism and made a proposal in regard to the coming State Convention to the effect that despite the size of the State Committee

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that is elected and regardless of the percentage of Negroes on the committee, she wanted a commission composed of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups instead of a commission on Negroes, a commission on Puerto Ricans, etcetera, that will meet and discuss the problems concerning these groups. She remarked that in this way they would "not always be stymied by ten percent of a committee."

Speaker - Comrade [REDACTED]

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Concerning instant meeting, [REDACTED] stated it was not being held solely for the coming State Convention, but also for a discussion of differences on the Negro question, an estimate of work in the past and a program of action for the future.

He stressed the need to preserve the party from "the onslaught of right liquidation workers led by JOHNNY GATES and GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY," who represent the "right wing Bureaucratic faction in the National and State leadership."

In his opinion, the Negro question was side tracked at the National Convention and in this regard he said the Negro question must be placed on the shoulders of leading Negro comrades.

Speaker - Comrade PAULIE (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)

This meeting, according to PAULIE, was "for the initiative of the Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant Sections, which invited the Jamaica Section" having been called by the section organizers with the support of section committees. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss problems confronting the Negro comrades in the center of Negro life and how best they can project

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a joint program to discuss collectively their problems on how they could put their wisdom together for a program of action in Negro communities.

Speaker - Comrade BEN (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR)

BEN stated this meeting was called officially by the leadership of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant and emphasized this was not a factional meeting.

BEN remarked that the establishment of the nation of Ghana had special significance in so far as the colonial question was concerned and insofar as the socialist world system is concerned because such an event could not have taken place without the existence of the world socialist system, led in the first place by the Soviet Union. He commented that the feelings of the Jewish people for Israel and the feelings of the Negro people in America for Ghana becomes a point for cementing relations between the Jewish people and the Negro people, thereby enabling an exchange of ideas between these two peoples and providing deeper meaning to their common struggle against "American imperialism." He then said, "Those of us who are in the National Committee" have a responsibility to speak out on the Ghana situation.

BEN referred to comrade [redacted] having spoken earlier in the evening and stated he did not share the same views that [redacted] had on many questions.

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One individual, according to BEN, who was not to be considered a member of the National Committee when a past CP convention was held was JIM FORD.

On the Negro question BEN said responsibility is for white comrades to "step forth militantly and accept responsibilities for any weakness on our party's position."

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"Since the convention my opinion is that struggle for our party has to be on the basis of struggling for a line of a ~~draft~~ resolution for our party." Continuing, BEN related he did not agree with the estimate of the convention given by the "Daily Worker." The "Daily Worker", according to him gave the impression that the only thing which happened at the National Convention was that the party declared its independence from Moscow. This he said is "a wrong one-sided interpretation and must be rejected."

BEN stated the National Convention accomplished a number of things, namely :

1. It rejected the "Political Action Association" and removed this as a threat to the life and existence of the party.

2. It called attention to the "right danger in our party", the danger of "right opportunism and revisionism which is included in the wordage of the Draft Resolution."

3. It removed the words which made our acceptance of Marxism and Leninism a basic science condition. "Nothing can be more basic than that our party accept Marxism and Leninism unconditionally as its science."

He remarked that seven out of twenty members of the National Committee were Negroes and believed that a young Negro woman was elected for the reason that the convention wanted to sharply call to the attention of the party the downgrading of Negro women, to set an example for integrating Negro women.

BEN stated the party must not be isolated as in the past and should be recruiting. He commented

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he had been invited to speak "downtown" on Friday, to a group of comrades who are recruiting a number of new people into the party.

Continuing his speech, BEN stated that he had a session last Sunday with Councilman EARL BROWN (PH) on "trying to develop a legislative program in the City Council and Councilman BROWN (PH) agreed to introduce a resolution." This was not further explained.

Speaker - Unknown Male

The speaker began by saying there had been compromises in the "JOHNNY GATES forces" at the National Convention and remarked that 16 had voted against international solidarity and three for international solidarity. He said this emphasized a pattern we have in local areas in the fight to save the party. "If we fight to save our party on a Marxist - Leninist basis, we can win the party and increase our party."

It was this speaker's opinion that most Negroes in the South thought that United States imperialism provoked the situation in Hungary. He stated that a program in support of the South should be started; first of all a financial program. The unknown speaker said that recently a comrade from the South had a discussion with another comrade about the South and finances and from this discussion it was reported that no funds had come from the South since last October.

Speaker - JIM FORD

FORD stated he did not know, until comrade BEN spoke, that at the 1950 convention there was a definite proposal that comrade MINOR (ROBERT MINOR) and himself should not be elected to the new National Committee at that time. He said he did know subsequent



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to that time that ideas around this problem did prevail not only with respect to not having been elected to the National Committee, but also with respect to the policies "carried out against Communists." FORD related that since that convention, there has been a definite policy of isolation and condemnation carried out. He commented, "There is one thing I have experienced in the whole history of my membership in the CP for 30 years and that is this: we knew that there had been on the basis of the ~~divide~~ in rule policy of the ruling class of this country of ours, white leader liberals ~~parts~~ to pit one Negro against the other and I can give that to Moscow and I can tell you stories about HARRY and myself and how the Communists there were trying to pit HARRY against me and vice versa, and all the Negroes there one against the other in order to downgrade, to prevent the development of the true policy which the Russians were trying to help us develop on the Negro question in this country and this policy of the ~~divide in rule~~ has been one of the most damnable questions in our movement."

FORD went on to say that ruling class domination over minority groups such as Negroes and Puerto Ricans at the National Convention was shocking. He stated that when you speak of factionalism, right opportunism and bureaucracy, there has been nothing in his party career which has shocked him more than the white chauvinistic policy of GEORGE BLAKE.

FORD remarked that in 1928 at the sixth World Congress of the Communist International he had the privilege of seeing the admission of the Puerto Rican CP into the Communist International at that time. He stated that the Negro liberation movement is the most suitable movement for the unity of the anti-imperialist struggle.

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FORD expressed concern over whether Ghana as a new nation under the British empire would enjoy the same rights as a white nation and went on to make the following proposals:

I. Start some action around the celebration of the Bandung Conference in which "we" are involved and involve others in various forms of struggle.

II. Set up in Negro areas of the city a committee that has responsibility of 1.) initiating a struggle of "our own kind", housing, segregation, etc. in unity with the Negro people in the South.

(2.) This committee should have the responsibility of raising funds that will help comrades in the South with their work.

(3.) Struggle on housing, rent increases, desegregation in school jobs.

In conclusion FORD expressed his concern for saving the party as a Marxist - Leninist party and advocated development of mass actions along lines opposite to what the "Daily Worker" is advocating today.

Speaker - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] briefly mentioned that she came from a family of trade unionists and stated that "we" must play a key role in international affairs and must explain issues in a "Marxist - Leninist way" to individuals residing in their communities. She spoke out against white chauvinism and remarked that the rank and file were not even allowed to discuss program and work at the National Convention.

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Her closing remarks were, "I am going to fight for this here party. It means a whole lot to me and I'm going to fight for unity on a basis ~~for~~<sup>for</sup> struggle."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

United States Government

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1214) DATE: 5/1/57

FROM: SA PAUL J. NEUMANN

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2  
HARLEM REGION  
IS-C

Source [redacted]  
 Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past.  
 Concealment Cover by T symbol.  
 Date of activity 3/11/57  
 Date received 3/15/57  
 Received by SA [redacted]  
 Location [redacted]

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[redacted] advised on 3/15/57 that a CP joint committee meeting of the Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Jamaica Sections of the CP was held at 402 West 146th Street, New York City, on 3/11/57.

- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#19)
  - 1 - NY 100-26603-C42 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, NY COUNTY) (#19)
  - 1 - NY 100-26603-C263 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, BEDFORD-STUYVESANT SECTION) (#12-11)
  - 1 - NY 100-26603-C358 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, JAMAICA SECTION) (#12-13)
  - 1 - NY 100-80641A (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION - 16TH NATIONAL CONVENTION) (#19)
  - 1 - NY 100-29166 (COMINFIL, RWDSU) (7-1)
  - 1 - NY 100-100713 (COMINFIL, DPOWA) (7-1)
  - 1 - NY 100-26603-C1905 SUB I (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, INDUSTRIAL DIVISION, DISTRIBUTIVE REGION) (#19)
  - 1 - NY 100-128807 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, UN) (#19)
  - 1 - NY 100-80640 (CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION) (#19)
  - 1 - NY 100-128815 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, NEGRO QUESTION) (#19)
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*[Handwritten signature]*

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- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128821 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, FACTIONALISM) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128819 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA, LINE) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- ① - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128809 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (#19)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-79025 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (MALE; SPANISH ACCENT) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (KATE LNU (PH)) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-24448 (LILLIAN GATES) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-129629 (BILL ALBERTSON) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-52959 [REDACTED] (#12-11)
- 1 - NY 100-62509 (DOXEY WILKERSON) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-81794 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-83917 [REDACTED] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-85788 [REDACTED] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-101849 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-50806 (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-9364 (JIM FORD)
- 1 - NY 100-95789 [REDACTED] (12-11)
- 1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-81495 [REDACTED] (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-112059 [REDACTED] (#12-16)

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NY 100-26603-C12-14

Source	[redacted]
Reliability	Who is in a position to furnish reliable information.
Concealment	Cover by T symbol
Date of activity	3/18/57
Date received	3/18/57
Received by	
Location	Instant memo.

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[redacted] advised on 3/18/57 that a meeting was held this date at Bermuda Hall, 402 West 146th Street, NYC. [redacted] described the meeting as a continuation of the above-mentioned meeting held on 3/11/57.

[redacted] The meeting began with the election of [redacted] as chairman for the evening.

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[redacted] announced the meeting was a continuation of last week's meeting and was called at the initiative of the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant Sections to discuss problems of the Negro cadre. According to [redacted], the meeting was composed of "members of the Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Jamiaca Sections and industrial comrades."

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The following speakers appeared in the order indicated:

Speaker - Comrade [redacted]

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[redacted] spoke out in criticism of the "Daily Worker" remarking that it did not tell the truth about the convention. She stated that although the "Daily Worker" cannot be recognized at this time as the paper of the CP, she was going to renew her subscription to the paper. [redacted] advocated changing the policy of the "Daily Worker."

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It was [redacted] belief that Marxist-Leninist agitation must be carried out. She remarked that when she was recruited into the party she attended classes for seven weeks about once each week. In her opinion it is necessary for persons getting into the party as well as older members to receive such training in order to grow and develop. [redacted] stated, "I cannot see where we follow the line of Moscow - ~~altogether~~. I don't live in Russia, I live in the United States."

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At this point [redacted] turned her thoughts back to the "Daily Worker" and commented that although she had never worked for the paper, she had contributed some articles to it.

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In conclusion, she stated it was necessary to build the party on the needs of the people in their own neighborhood, people ~~in~~ in this country, people of the South and the working class.

Comrade [redacted]

[redacted] stated he was disturbed in about 1949 or 1950 when the Harlem edition of "The Worker" was abolished and went on to cite the party's responsibility in having a paper reflecting the feelings of the Negro progressives .

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[redacted] resented the attempts to destroy the party and stated it was up to the rank and file members to save the party. In this regard he stated it was necessary to discard a great deal of the liberalism and bureaucracy in the party.

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[redacted] referred to himself as having attended the first session of the National Convention and expressed his dissatisfaction with the results of that convention.

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Speaker - Unknown Male

This speaker referred to himself as a Puerto Rican and his speech was difficult to understand. He stated the National Convention proved nothing in regard to Latin-America and that there had never been a Puerto Rican representative on the National Committee.

Speaker - Comrade KATE (PH)

KATE cited one of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism as democratic centralism and said that the party is without this today. She stated the party lacks unity and that there has been an attempt to, "water down international proletarianism." "To me," she said, "we have something masquerading as the CP in the United States."

KATE identified herself as being from District #65 (DPOWA) and commented that District 65 was the heart of the GATES faction. She classified the results of the National Convention as a victory for the GATES forces, however she said one of the most disturbing things happening to the GATES group at the convention was its inability to get a resolution passed on anti-semitism in the Soviet Union. She stated, "We cannot underestimate Jewish bourgeois nationalism in our organization."

In her opinion the Soviet Union gives the highest example of the vanguard role in the CP. Regarding a recent convention, KATE stated they had three guest speakers, LILLIAN GATES, GEORGE BLAKE and BILL ALBERTSON, each of whom was to present a different point of view.

At the beginning of the convention GEORGE BLAKE just sat down and listened and said a few words.



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During the second half of the convention, BLAKE attempted to dominate the meeting and when those present objected they were called anti-Democratic. She stated the group labeled GATES for what he was, an enemy of the working class and a revisionist who was for liquidation of the party organization. KATE stated that at this point of the meeting LILLIAN GATES got up and left because "things were getting too hot for her."

Continuing she remarked, "we have the second largest party in the country, I think. We have about 500 comrades in our set up and 500 comrades should be able to move nations."

In speaking of "Jewish bourgeois nationalism" KATE stated the most vicious thing that ever happened was at the time of the height of the new attacks against Egypt, the "Daily Worker" in coming out always left Israel out of the situation.

KATE said she had spoken to some comrades who had left the organization because nothing was happening and they saw no hope for the American CP as a result of the convention. She remarked that instead of giving in to the GATES forces, they should have remained in the party and fought for the ~~CP~~ of the GATES forces ousters. As a result of this it would be possible to have a real CP instead of a right opportunist, social democratic organization.

Speaker -

in commenting on the Negro question stated that only through a ~~struggle~~ struggle for such things as school, integration, housing, health and employment would the expulsion of the forces in the organization who are opposed to the Marxist-Leninist line of struggle

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be accomplished because there are those in the organization who have a tendency to compromise on the struggle for Negro rights. [redacted] defined Marxism-Leninism as "a scientific analysis of the universal objective laws of social development.

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He said that in order to save the Negro cadre it was necessary to fight right opportunism in the party.

Speaker - Comrade DOXEY (DOXEY WILKERSON)

DOXEY said the party has not been an integral part of the Negro struggle because of disorientation and factionalism in the party. He stated the party at present is not monolithic inasmuch as there is a "right" and "left"; however, it is monolithic in terms of youth and basic theory. DOXEY related that he saw the effect from the left last week on the parts of [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] and JIM (JIM FORD) and wanted to say he differs with BEN (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) on what he termed as important work. DOXEY expressed himself as favoring the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism as applied to this country.

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At this point he said that the "Cuban problem was at that time being processed through the National Committee and would be published shortly. DOXEY did not elaborate further on this.

While discussing the need for special attention being directed toward Negro representation in the party, an unknown woman in the crowd stated that DOXEY went to the "national party" through Flatbush, a white community.

The remainder of DOXEY's remarks were applied to building unity in the party.

NY 100-26603-C12-14

At the termination of DOXEY's speech Comrade [redacted] stated she understood the reasons for the meeting were to effect a program for the party and to prepare for the forthcoming State Convention, but that nobody has as yet offered anything which could be construed as a program.

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Speaker- Comrade FORD (JIM FORD)

FORD stated he resented DOXEY WILKERSON and that "we are in danger of his type of factionalism." After this opening remark an argument ensued and FORD refused to speak further.

Speaker - Comrade PATTERSON (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)

PATTERSON began his talk by stating "I want to speak here as a Negro who is a Communist." He commented that the party at this time is not playing its vanguard role in Negro work; that it must play an independent role. PATTERSON said "the independence of the CP in the world today in my opinion must be associated with the inseparable relationship of the Communist movement, the working together of the CP of the world."

He related that Negroes today must develop a program of struggle and get the Negro question to the UN. In connection with this PATTERSON remarked that the United States is violating the UN charter and is violating the Declaration of Human Rights. He went on to call for a discussion of ways to handle "American Imperialism."

Speaker - Comrade [redacted]

[redacted] announced the following proposals:

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1. The leadership of the various sections in Harlem should meet on the basis of things discussed so far and come to the next session with an outline of a program which will be presented to the group.

NY 100-26603-C12-14

2. The question of the attack against our Puerto Rican comrades at the ~~State~~ National Convention be made into a resolution for action at the State Convention.

3. Urge speeding up of discussions regarding the expulsion of Negro comrades in the State of New Jersey.

Following the proposals made by [redacted] Comrade PAULIE (PAUL ROBESON, JR) announced that members of the Harlem Regional Committee would meet 3/27/57 at Bermuda Hall.

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[redacted] advised at this point that there were two individuals by the name [redacted] in attendance at the meeting.

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Speaker - Comrade [redacted]

This speaker referred to himself as attending an Industrial Region Convention, date and place not specified. He mentioned that ten members had recruited four new members in the last ten years, which proved to him that people could be recruited. He called for the advancement of the struggle for Negro rights and a fight to end isolation in the party.

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An unknown male announced that the next meeting of this group would be held 3/25/57 at 74 Fifth Avenue.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C320) (12-10)

FROM : SA [redacted]

DATE: 5/8/57

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
DISTRICT # 2, KINGSBRIDGE  
IS-C

Source [redacted]  
(Protect by T symbol)

Reliability Who has furnished  
reliable information  
in the past

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Date of Activity 3/28/57

Date Received 4/10/57

Received by SA [redacted]

Location [redacted]

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

By report dated 4/3/57, [redacted] furnished

- 1-NY (100-120276) [redacted] (12-10)
- 1-NY (100-7767) [redacted] (12-10)
- 1-NY (100-74464) [redacted] (LNU) (12-10)
- 1-NY (100-102933) [redacted] (12-10)
- 1-NY (100-128832) [redacted] (12-10)
- 1-NY (97-169) ("Daily Worker") (7-2)
- 1-NY (100-87211) (CP Factionalism) (19-2)
- 1-NY (100-80638) (CP Membership) (19-1)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C40) (CP Bronx) (12-10)
- 1-NY (100-26603) (CP, USA District 2) (19-2)

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JPH:rmv  
(12)

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100-80638-1195

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
MAY 10 1957  
FBI - NEW YORK  
J. Walters  
7-19



MEMO  
NY

this assignment he will work with ~~the~~ other Bronx Sections "on a county-wide scale. [ ] accepted.

A discussion developed on the report of [ ]

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[ ] stated that "We are facing a tough job in this years fund and sub drive." He underlined that the policy which the Daily Worker adopted towards the Soviet Union in the last few months "I, and many of our comrades and friends I talked to, consider as anti-Soviet and offer red-baiting. Many of our readers complained to me: 'Why read the Worker? We might as well read the Journal-American.' The majority of the Daily Worker's Staff is under the influence of the right-wing group which is out to liquidate the party. I cannot see how, under this circumstances, we can conduct a successfull campaign." Everyone at the meeting participated in this discussion, including [ ] who is the Section organizer, and all agreed that the present "policy of the Daily does not reflect the Communist way of thinking "but, as [ ] put it, "The Worker is still our paper and the only working class paper and we must support it and at the same time fight against those elements in the Daily Worker which are trying to confuse and distort the issues of Communism in the United States and the relationship between the Communist parties of different countries."

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[ ] told the meeting that it would be a good idea at this time in connection with the press circulation and fund drive to take stock of the numerical standing of the section membership in the Bronx. This, [ ] claimed, would give the Bronx County an idea what to expect and how to go about getting subs and the raising of funds.

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MEMO  
NY

On his question to [ ] on the membership of the C.P. North-West Section [ ] said that "We haven't got exact figures but we believe that we have lost half of our members and other Sections are worse off than we are. Our Section is one of the very few in the Bronx that is still functioning - and quite effective to."

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The discussion on the above question took up the whole evening.

It was decided to participate in the Daily Worker drives.

[ ] who was elected as a delegate to the N.Y. State (The 1st Convention) Convention at the North-West Bronx Section Convention C.P. (on December 15th, 1956) was told by [ ] to attend the Convention of the N.Y. State C.P. which will be held during the week-end of March, 1957 at the Yugoslav Hall in N.Y. The meeting instructed Bernie to prepare a report on the State Convention to the next meeting of the Club which will be held at the same place on April 9th, 1957.

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It was also decided, at the suggestion of Harold, to have a discussion at the next meeting on the statement of the Polish and English Communist parties which was published in the Daily Worker. [ ] claimed that this statement is of "great importance because it touches upon questions of inter-party relationship and on the role of the leadership of the Soviet Union."

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J. Morris



OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-2398)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5-7-57

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* orally and by means of dictaphone memo belts furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on April 29, and May 1, 1957. The transcription of these memo belts is located in Chicago file A/134-46-3672.

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

CG 5824-S\* advised that the first meeting of the new National Committee of the Communist Party - USA was held on Saturday and Sunday, April 27 and 28, 1957, in Room #104 of the New Art Center, located at 15 Second Avenue, New York City.

Persons in Attendance

CG 5824-S\* advised that the following members of the new National Committee of the Communist Party - USA were in attendance at this meeting:

California

[redacted]  
[redacted] Organizer for the  
Southern California District

BEN DOBBS

[redacted], Organizer for the Northern  
California District

[redacted]  
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

[redacted]

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Colorado

[redacted]

100 - 80638 - 1196  
J Waters J/W  
#19

See 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d pages for copies.

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- 4 - Bureau (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-3-74) (CP - USA, Brief)  
(1 - 62-101087) (March on Washington, May, 1957)
- 3 - Baltimore (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-12464) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100- ) (GEORGE A. MEYERS)  
(1 - 62- ) (March on Washington, May, 1957)
- 2 - Boston (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-20779) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-16160) (MICHAEL A. RUSSO)
- 2 - Butte (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-5350) [REDACTED]
- 3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-17257) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 65-721) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (HYMAN LUMER)
- 2 - Denver (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-4211) [REDACTED]
- 4 - Detroit (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-2050) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-8482) (THOMAS DENNIS)  
(1 - 100-945) (NAT GANLEY)  
(1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-11093) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-9529) (EMANUEL BLUM)
- 6 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-26044) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-52571) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-4486) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (BEN DOBBS)  
(1 - 100-23700) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 62- ) (March on Washington, May, 1957)
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-42-I) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-11125) [REDACTED]

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CG 100-2398

- 3 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-1878-P) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-6379) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 61-29) (CLARENCE SHARP)
- 1 - Mobile (62- ) (March on Washington, May, 1957) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Newark (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-4284) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-2974) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
- 2 - New Haven (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-1873) [REDACTED]

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- 52 - New York (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S\*) (#6) (P & C) (Info)  
(1 - 100-4931) (CP - USA)  
(1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)  
(1 - 100-81752) (CP - USA, Brief) (#7-2)  
(1 - 100-89691) (CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80633) (CP - USA, Education) (#19)  
(1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80634) (CP - USA, Farmers Matters) (#19)  
(1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80636) (CP - USA, Legislative Activities) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80640) (CP - USA, Negro Question) (#19)  
(1 - 100-81675) (CP - USA, Pamphlets & Publications) (#19)  
(1 - 100-89590) (CP - USA, Strategy in Industry) (#19)  
(1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2) (#12-14)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Southern Regional Committee) (#19)  
(1 - 100-7629) (Cominfil - NAACP)  
(1 - 62- ) (March on Washington, May, 1957)  
(1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press) (#7-2)  
(1 - 100-13923) [REDACTED] (#19)  
(1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG) (#19)  
(1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#7-5)  
(1 - 100-14606) (JOE CLARK) (#20-11)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-559) (JESUS COLON) (#12-16)  
(1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)  
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)  
(1 - 100-110840) (EARL DURHAM) (#19)

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(1 - 100-87561) [REDACTED] (#19)  
(1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)  
(1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)  
(1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)  
(1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON) (#19)  
(1 - 100-21259) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-16785) [REDACTED] (#7-5)  
(1 - 100-50704) [REDACTED] (#7-1)  
(1 - 100-52959) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-9352) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-13203) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (#12-15)  
(1 - 100-92763) (PETTIS PERRY)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-9573) [REDACTED] (#19)  
(1 - 100-18065) [REDACTED] (#19)  
(1 - 100-50090) [REDACTED] 9)  
(1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#20-13)  
(1 - 100-62509) (DOXEY WILKERSON)  
(1 - 100- ) (Unknown Subject, Member of ILGWU)  
(1 - 100- ) (Unknown Subject, Member, Retail Clerks Union)

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5 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-31723) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-2427) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 65-1686) (THOMAS NABRIED)  
(1 - 100-38020) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 62- ) (March on Washington, May, 1957)

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2 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-1763) [REDACTED]

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2 - Portland (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100- ) (Unknown Female, FNU [REDACTED])

5 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-27747) (CP - USA, Organization)  
(1 - 65-1242) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 61-415) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 97-26) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)  
(1 - 62 ) (March on Washington, May, 1957)

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2 - Seattle (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
- (1 - 100- ) (BURT GALE NELSON)

3 - Washington Field (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
- (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Negro Question)
- (1 - 62- ) (March on Washington, May, 1957)

11 - Chicago

- (1 - A/134-46-
- (1 - 100-18953) (CP - USA, Organization)
- (1 - 100-18956) (CP - USA, Negro Question)
- (1 - 100-33566) (March on Washington, May, 1957)
- (1 - 100-24729) (EMANUEL BLUM)
- (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
- (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
- (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-2749)

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*Jew*  
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CG 100-2398

Connecticut

[REDACTED]

Illinois

FLORA HALL  
SAM KUSHNER  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
[REDACTED]

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Indiana

EMANUEL BLUM

Maryland

GEORGE A. MEYERS

Massachusetts

MICHAEL RUSSO

Michigan

THOMAS DENNIS  
NAT GANLEY  
CARL WINTER

Minnesota

[REDACTED]

Montana

[REDACTED]

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New Jersey

[REDACTED]  
PATRICK TOOHEY

CG 100-2398

New York

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

[REDACTED]  
JESUS COLON  
BEN DAVIS, JR.  
EUGENE DENNIS  
EARL DURHAM  
FRED FINE  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
MORRIS GAINER  
JOHN GATES  
SIMON W. GERSON

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[REDACTED]  
W. W. WEINSTONE  
DOXEY WILKERSON

Unknown male described as follows:

Height	5'11"
Age	40
Weight	190 - 200 lbs.
Complexion	Light
Hair	Brown and receding
Race	White

Unknown male described as follows:

Race	White
Height	5'6"
Age	38 - 40
Weight	135 lbs.
Hair	Light brown and very thin

One of these unknown men is employed as a cutter and is a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The other is a member of Local #65 of the Retail Clerks Union in New York City. Both of these individuals are from the industrial sections of the New York District.

Ohio

[REDACTED]  
HYMAN LUMER

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Oregon

Unknown female, last name may be

Race	White
Height	5' 5 1/2"
Weight	135 - 140 lbs.
Age	45
Complexion	Sallow
Hair	Black, streaked with grey

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This individual was silent throughout the meeting.

Eastern Pennsylvania

THOMAS NABRIED

Western Pennsylvania

STEVE NELSON

Washington

BURT GALE NELSON

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Wisconsin

CG 5824-S\* advised that the following persons, who are not members of the National Committee, were present at this meeting as invited guests:

AL BLUMBERG  
 MORRIS CHILDS

who acted as the Stenographer during the meeting

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WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, for a part of the sessions on April 27, 1957

from time to time



CG 100-2398

National Committee Members Not Present

CG 5824-S\* advised that FRED FINE announced that four National Committee members were absent. The informant stated that [redacted] of Illinois, was absent. CG 5824-S\* also stated that he heard that a person from upstate New York, who is employed in the steel industry, was not present. Two National Committee members are still to be selected as representatives of the South.

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Agenda

CG 5824-S\* advised that the following was the agenda for this meeting:

- (1) Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, May 17, 1957, at Washington, D.C. The main report to be given by BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.
- (2) A report on the "Daily Worker" by JACK STACHEL.
- (3) Organization of the Party leadership, with a preface by EUGENE DENNIS.

SESSIONS OF SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1957

Morning Session

CG 5824-S\* advised that [redacted] was Chairman of the morning session of April 27, 1957.

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Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom,  
May 17, 1957

Report by BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.

CG 5824-S\* advised that he arrived at the meeting shortly after it began and BEN DAVIS was giving his report on the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom. DAVIS stated that the meeting will take place in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. He said that this location is fitting, inasmuch as it is in keeping with the religious and non-violent character of this movement. DAVIS stated that perhaps we should not even call this a

mobilization because it is officially called a prayer meeting. He said that we should not make the mistake of calling this a march on Washington, because it is not a march on Washington. DAVIS pointed out that there are three Co-Chairmen for this prayer meeting, and these are ROY WILKINS, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING. DAVIS stated that a few weeks ago there was a conference of Southern Negro leaders in Washington, D.C. At this conference, somebody suggested that it be called a Negro Leaders Conference, but this suggestion was turned down and the word "Negro" was stricken because it was hoped that it could be an interracial affair.

DAVIS then stated that this discussion on the name of this Southern Leaders Conference initiated the discussion concerning the preparation for this Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom. He stated that there were sixty persons in attendance at this Southern Leaders Conference in Washington, D.C.

DAVIS went on to give the aims of this Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom. He stated that these aims are as follows: (1) To demonstrate by this mobilization that there is unity among the Negroes; (2) To provide means to give aid from the North to the Negro freedom fighters in the South; (3) To help to fight the Dixiecrats who are attempting to cripple the NAACP in the South; (4) To protest the violence that is being used against Negro fighters, the freedom fighters of the South, and to make President EISENHOWER speak out against this violence and terror. He said that this is not a big demand, and that the President could easily do this. He said that there was a precedent set some thirty-nine years ago by President WOODROW WILSON, who spoke out against lynching in the South. DAVIS stated that there is no reason why President EISENHOWER cannot do the same thing today; and (5) To attempt to influence the passage of civil rights legislation.

DAVIS went on to say that the aim is to get 50,000 people to attend this pilgrimage, and while the majority may be Negroes, it should be an interracial affair. He also informed the National Committee that 10,000 persons are expected to go to Washington from New York City. He then described the printed call for this pilgrimage. (Copies of this call and other material pertaining to the pilgrimage are being transmitted to the Bureau

and to the New York Office by separate communication.) DAVIS pointed out that there is no red-baiting in the printed call for this pilgrimage. Furthermore, the character of this mobilization is such that official participation is not a necessity; that is, an organization does not have to vote to participate in the pilgrimage. While individuals can participate in the pilgrimage, he stated that official participation would be most desirable and he hopes that some organizations will go on record in favor of this pilgrimage. He further stated that there will be no screening of individuals participating in the pilgrimage.

DAVIS once again repeated that this mobilization was organized and conceived by sixty Southern leaders who met in Washington, D.C. He said that this meeting of Southern leaders was heavily weighted by Negro ministers from the South. According to DAVIS, these Negro ministers said, and this is an approximate quotation, if the NAACP is willing to pray with us, we are willing to march with them. DAVIS further stated that the call for this pilgrimage or mobilization has been inserted in the Congressional record by various Congressmen. He also stated that it has been announced that Congressmen ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, of New York; CHARLES DIGGS, of Michigan, and WILLIAM DAWSON, of Illinois, are participating in this mobilization.

DAVIS stated that some unions, such as the ILGWU, have put on full-time Organizers in order to prepare for this mobilization. Some unions have pledged that as many as 1,000 people will go to Washington for this affair. Then DAVIS went on to state what should be done. He suggested that in every community people call upon the NAACP or, if there is a Pilgrimage Committee established in the city, to call on this Pilgrimage Committee. He said that if neither of these organizations are in a particular community, then it might be necessary to locate a local of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and ask the local office about information concerning the Pilgrimage to Washington.

Next DAVIS proceeded to describe the preparations for the pilgrimage. He said that there will be special trains from the East going to Washington. They will be called freedom trains. There will be a special train from Chicago, and undoubtedly from other places. He mentioned the name of [redacted] of New York City, and said that he was in charge of the pilgrimage in New York City. He stated that if any person wanted more

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CG 100-2398

information, they could send a letter or a wire to [redacted] and receive this information. DAVIS suggested that perhaps in every community an effort should be made to get the City Government or the City Council to go on record as endorsing this pilgrimage. An effort should also be made to try to get resolutions concerning the pilgrimage adopted in the State legislatures. An effort should also be made to memorialize the Federal Government and ask that some of the demands for civil rights legislation be granted. He also suggested that an attempt should be made to have Governors and various governmental institutions in various cities and States issue a proclamation concerning the pilgrimage on May 17, 1957.

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Next DAVIS said that the people who are preparing this mobilization have an exaggerated opinion on what the Communist Party can do. He went on to emphasize that the Communist Party cannot disappoint these people, even though they believe we can do many things that we are incapable of doing. He also informed the National Committee that if the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING sees Vice President RICHARD NIXON while he is in Washington, he will not see the Vice President and talk to him individually unless he does so after the pilgrimage is over. If he sees the Vice President during the pilgrimage, it would be with a delegation. The purpose of this would be to remove any political connotations that might be attached to a private interview.

DAVIS said that there were a lot of pressures placed on the leaders of this movement asking them to issue public statements against the Communist Party. He said that there was a lot of pressure placed on ROY WILKINS, of the NAACP, to do this but so far no one connected with the movement has come out against the Communists. He then warned the Party leadership that they must urge the membership and those whom the Communist Party can influence to work in this movement in such a way as to make it impossible for any leader of the movement to use red-baiting. He stated that WILKINS has made it clear that he is not mad at anybody, that he is not anti-Democratic, that he is not anti-Republican, but that he is pro-Negro. He said that he will not give out favors to either Republicans or Democrats.

Continuing, DAVIS stated we should begin to raise the question why the terror in the South continues. We should ask the Department of Justice to guarantee the safety of those delegates which will be coming from those places in the South where

CG 100-2398

the terror is wide-spread. DAVIS said that at the present time this pilgrimage is the main mass task of the Party. He said that it is possible that we could transform the Party by working properly through or in this movement; however, the Communist Party should not worry at this particular moment about what it is going to gain by participating in the movement. We will worry about this at some future date and, in the meantime, we should work very carefully within the movement.

DAVIS went on with a harangue about the role of the Soviet Union, which he termed the leader of the anti-colonial world. He said that the Soviet Union has inspired Egypt. He stated that the Negro people in the South understand this anti-colonial movement, especially as it was expressed by the fight of the Egyptians. He said that even if the people in the Southern part of the United States are not vocal, in their hearts they feel the important role that the Soviet Union is playing.

DAVIS then went into a dissertation about the Negroes in the South, their inferior labor conditions and pay. He talked about the organized labor movement and said that the organized labor movement should participate and take a hand in giving aid to the Negro freedom fighters in the South. He also talked about the personal responsibilities of the leading comrades. He said that we must work in a way as though we are the organizers of this movement. Yet, we cannot show it. He cited New York as an example. He said that in New York the Communist Party has put some full-time people to work on this pilgrimage. He also described some Leftist tendencies. He said there were some people in New York who wanted to go to Washington with Communist Party banners on their automobiles, trucks and other means of transportation. He said that this is a provocation and it must be avoided at all costs. We must not create the impression that the Communists are going to take over. The only role we have to play is an ideological role.

Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

Following the report of BEN DAVIS, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON made a few remarks. PATTERSON stated that 10,000 people are expected to go to Washington from New York, and 3,000 people are expected to go to Washington from the West coast. Another 2,000 from Philadelphia, and 2,000 from Baltimore are also expected to go to Washington. PATTERSON repeated the demand that

Attorney General BROWNELL be asked to safeguard the delegations, particularly those from the South. Then he described the setting up of the local Pilgrimage Committees in various areas. He said that if the Party cannot give organizational help in some communities, then it might raise money. He pointed out that a few thousand dollars have been collected through the New York Communist Party organization and have been turned over to the Pilgrimage Committee. While this money was not given to the Pilgrimage in the name of the Party, nevertheless the money has been forthcoming.

PATTERSON said that the Pilgrimage Committee is not planning a lobby in Washington. Regardless of whether or not they have an official lobby or whether or not they do any lobbying, he is convinced that this pilgrimage and the echo of this pilgrimage will penetrate all cloisters, even the cloisters of President EISENHOWER. He said that President EISENHOWER is trying to shut himself off and away from the just demands of the Negro people. He said that this prayer meeting or pilgrimage will be a test of strength for Negro rights and Constitutional liberties. PATTERSON also talked about the preliminary meeting in Washington where sixty Southern leaders were present. He said that these sixty Southern leaders represented thirty-seven different states.

General Discussion on the Prayer  
Pilgrimage for Freedom

CG 5824-S\* advised that there was a considerable amount of discussion on this pilgrimage and various persons participated in the discussion. SAM KUSHNER spoke about the need to mobilize the trade unions. He also described what the United Packinghouse Workers of America in Chicago is doing in the way of preparation for the pilgrimage.

THOMAS NABRIED stated that the Communist Party in Eastern Pennsylvania is utilizing the block committees and their activity in order to popularize the pilgrimage.

[redacted] of California, made quite a speech on this matter. He talked about the special responsibility of the white trade unionists. He said that they are certain that five hundred people will go to Washington from Los Angeles, and an additional five hundred from San Francisco, and at least another

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one thousand persons from various places in California and other Western states. [redacted] said that in some local unions in the auto industry they plan to give a day's pay to those persons who will make the trip to Washington. Next [redacted] talked about a growing resentment against President EISENHOWER on the West coast. He said that people think that the President's moral stature has been lowered, even in the eyes of his former supporters, particularly among the Negro people.

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CARL WINTER spoke and cited the Party resolution on the Negro question which was adopted at the National Convention. He said that this resolution should be a practical guide for the Communists in this mobilization. He said that the Communist Party is not to call names and is to work carefully in this pilgrimage. He suggested that one thing that could be done is to attach collection lists to the official call for this pilgrimage. These could then be circulated in the shops. He said that one might even put down the names of a few persons who are in a shop and belong to a local union, and state that they want to go to Washington. It could be indicated that the money is being collected for their fare so that they might be able to make this trip.

[redacted] also made a few remarks, as did JESUS COLON. COLON said that more ought to be done in order to mobilize white persons and persons of Mexican extraction, and that the Communist Party should mobilize to its maximum strength from the national minorities.

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Motions on the Prayer Pilgrimage  
for Freedom

A motion was then passed which states that the Communist Party is to expend a lot of energy in order to mobilize the support of white leaders for this pilgrimage. It also states that every white comrade who possibly can should be in Washington on May 17, 1957.

The report of BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., was endorsed. A sub-committee was set up to concretize the report of DAVIS and to draw up a memorandum based upon the report to the National Committee.

Statistical Report on the Com-  
position of the National Committee

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CG 5824-S\* advised that upon the conclusion of the discussion on the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, FRED FINE gave a statistical report on the composition of the new National Committee.

FINE stated that fifty-six members have been elected to the National Committee. He also stated that two National Committee members are still to be elected from the South. He then gave the following statistics on the composition of the new National Committee: Twenty members are full-time Party employees; eight National Committee members are women; twelve National Committee members are Negroes; one National Committee member is Puerto Rican; twenty-four National Committee members are of Jewish extraction; nine National Committee members are of Irish and Anglo-Saxon extraction; two National Committee members are of Italian extraction; two National Committee members are of Balkan extraction; two National Committee members are of Portuguese extraction; one National Committee member is of Mexican extraction; one National Committee member is of Finnish extraction; one National Committee member is of German extraction; twenty-six National Committee members are from New York; ten are from the West coast; two are from the Rocky Mountain area; fourteen are from the Midwest; eight are from the Atlantic seaboard outside of New York; two are from the South.

CG 5824-S\* commented that he did not know whether or not these statistics were based on those National Committee members present at this meeting or on some information FINE had received concerning National Committee members which have been elected both at the National Convention and at District Conventions.

#### Afternoon Session

Report on the "Daily Worker"  
by JACK STACHEL

CG 5824-S\* advised that the afternoon session of April 27, 1957, of this National Committee meeting was chaired by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, of Illinois. JACK STACHEL delivered a report on the "Daily Worker". This was both a statistical and an ideological report. Accompanying STACHEL's report was a written memorandum on the "Daily Worker", which was passed out to those present at this meeting. (Copies of this memorandum will be furnished to the Bureau and to the New York Office by separate communication.)



STACHEL stated that when the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA endorsed the resolution calling for a circulation drive and a fund drive for the "Daily Worker", it made a decision that the paper is to be or is not to be. He pointed out that both the circulation drive and the fund drive are lagging behind so badly that the Communist Party is confronted with a crisis not only in the "Daily Worker", but also in "The Worker". He said it is necessary to talk about saving the "Daily Worker". He went on to say that if the Party gives up the "Daily Worker", it would endanger "The Worker". STACHEL said that the Party does not spend more money simply because it also issues a daily along with a weekly paper.

Explaining this statement, STACHEL said that New York supplies most of the money for the papers. He said that if we give up the "Daily Worker", this money would not be forthcoming from New York. STACHEL stated that the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" cost \$275,000, and at present there is a deficit of about \$215,000. He said that if we did not publish the "Daily Worker" and published only "The Worker", we would still have a minimum deficit of \$115,000. He said that the income from the "Daily Worker" is twice that of "The Worker". The loss, therefore, would be greater than the gain if we give up the "Daily Worker".

STACHEL reminded the National Committee that when the "Daily Worker" was founded in January, 1924, the Party had about twelve thousand members. Of these twelve thousand members, there were only one thousand English speaking members in the Party and the rest were in various language federations. Yet, he said, we were able to launch a paper and to keep it going. He said that we need to rebuild the organization around the "Daily Worker". We also need to renew contacts with the labor movement.

STACHEL then went on to ask, if we are defeated in the attempt to save the "Daily Worker", what effect will it have upon the Party? His conclusion is that such a result would hurt the Party. He emphasized that if the "Daily Worker" is liquidated, the entire financial structure of the pamphlets and publications might collapse. It might be necessary to give up the print shop and it might also be necessary to give up "The Worker". JACK STACHEL stated that it might also be necessary for the "Morning Freiheit" to go out of business. He said that if he felt that the situation was such that we could not do anything else but

give up the "Daily Worker", in that case he might be in favor of arriving at this decision; however, he believes that we can change the situation and save the paper. He said that even if there was only a circulation of eight thousand for the "Daily Worker" and twenty thousand or perhaps a little more for "The Worker", we could still keep the paper going. In order to do this, however, we have to pull the Party together. We have got to decide that the drive must succeed now and not in the future, because there are days when we are not certain whether or not the "Daily Worker" will be published.

STACHEL then went into an analysis of the paper. He said that the paper has an independent line, despite the criticism. It says things that no other paper says. When we exert the maximum effort and organize around the paper, we are able to get renewals, subscriptions and contributions. He cited a recent experience in the Bronx where forty-four persons were approached for subscription renewals, and of this number, forty-two renewed their subscriptions. He said that some people cannot subscribe directly to the paper and want the paper delivered to them. Therefore, the Party must set up an organization which will deliver the paper directly to those who do not want to subscribe in their own name.

Then STACHEL pointed out that we need both the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker". We have the means for saving these papers. There is little time left for us, if we want to save the paper. We have got to work to collect funds and get subscriptions. He said that there are a couple of things that have to be done. We must guarantee the ideological line of the paper; that is, the contents of the paper. We also have to set up a minimum organization in order to circulate or to help in the circulation of the paper. He said that instead of doing these things, however, we are merely talking about the type of paper that we want. People are asking whether or not the paper is to be used internally by the Party. They are also asking whether or not we want a crusading paper. They are also asking whether or not we want a paper which favors Socialism and preaches Socialism.

STACHEL stated that he believes that the paper should not be a newspaper in the sense of the "New York Times", but that it should first of all cover labor news. It should pay a lot of attention to the Negro people's movement and it should

also pay a lot of attention to the international movement. It should be a Marxist paper; it should be a working class paper. It should not be a wobbly paper which merely pays attention to economic struggles. It should be a crusading paper fighting on issues. It should pay attention to the most oppressed peoples, particularly the Negro people and the Puerto Rican people. It should give answers to the serious problems faced by these peoples. It should refer every once in a while to the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It should advocate Socialism, not in the abstract, but on concrete issues and under American conditions. All of these things apply both to the "Daily Worker" and to "The Worker".

Then STACHEL went on to say that since A. B. MAGIL has been made Editor of "The Worker", it has improved somewhat even though he is just getting started. He said that "The Worker" is a bit broader than the "Daily Worker", but that it is not broad enough. He asked about actual performance. He said, what is the yardstick for measuring the content of the paper, its ideological line and its political outlook? He said that he conducted an investigation and the statistics are contained in the document which was passed out. He said that the investigation showed it was concerned with the Middle East, civil rights and with attacks against labor by the Congressional investigating committee. He said that he and the other members of this Sub-Committee on Publications, which conducted this investigation, wanted to know how the paper reacted to these issues quantitatively. They wanted to know how many articles had been written, and also wanted to know how these issues were handled. He said that in regard to content, the paper is weak on national politics. On the Middle East crisis, he believes that the "Daily Worker" correctly centered attention on peace and asked for united action of the great powers. He also stated that the "Daily Worker" showed sensitivity for the Jewish people. The criticism by JIM JACKSON and ED STRONG concerning the one-sided approach of the "Daily Worker" on the Egyptian situation had its effect and helped to straighten out the line of the paper in this regard.

STACHEL asked, what are some of the weaknesses, the important weaknesses, in the ideological line of the "Daily Worker"? He said that there is a tendency on the part of the Editors of the "Daily Worker" and the writers to equate the powers. For example, there is a tendency to equate the United States and the USSR. He said that there are not enough articles

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dealing with imperialism. He quoted from an editorial concerning the action of the major powers in the Middle East. He cited this editorial as an example of equating one power with another, as if there were no class differences and as if the United States is not an imperialist power.

Then STACHEL stated that sometimes the practical problems involved the main line. For example, on the Jewish question we wanted to perform our task in a tactical manner and show some sensitivity, but we blurred our main line. We seemed to make the Egyptians the chief enemy. Then STACHEL stated, we are attacked from the Left and from the Right. Most of these attacks from within the Party are against the "Daily Worker" for tactical reasons and, as a rule, are not against the main line.

Next STACHEL went into a review of what the "Daily Worker" has done in regard to the investigation of racketeering in labor unions. He said that he thought that the "Daily Worker" played a very positive role in this regard, that [redacted] wrote some very good articles and that the line of the "Daily Worker" was correct in general. He said that if there is to be any criticism, he thought that more should have been done to point to the central aim of this Congressional investigation. The "Daily Worker" should have pointed out that this investigation is really an attack on labor. It is an effort to stop the organization drive of the AFL and CIO. He said that there is a united front between the Dixiecrats and the GOP to stop the investigation of the profiteering of the large corporations and also to stop the movement for civil rights legislation. STACHEL also thinks that the "Daily Worker" could have pointed out that these attacks, even though they are called investigations, are preparations by the GOP and the Southern Dixiecrats for the Congressional elections of 1958 and for the Presidential election in 1960.

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STACHEL stated that the Editor of the "Daily Worker" should get more reactions from the workers in the shop. The Editors and writers should ask the people in the shop to submit, in writing, their feelings about various problems and big issues. He said, then we would know how the "Daily Worker" staff should handle these issues. STACHEL also stated that the Party should once again set up a network of worker correspondents.

Next STACHEL went into an analysis of how the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" handled the civil rights problem. He said that the "Daily Worker" gives a lot of attention to civil rights; however, "The Worker" is somewhat weak on this issue. He pointed out that in one series of twenty-five issues of "The Worker", there was only one editorial on the Negro question. He said that when this was called to the attention of [redacted] he was very surprised and shocked. [redacted] said that the thought never entered his mind that so little attention had been paid to this important problem by "The Worker".

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STACHEL stated that he thinks that the "Daily Worker" has too much general reportage and not enough information on how people live. There is no concretization. He pointed out that it is not enough to talk about civil rights, since some of these struggles have to be painted in clear writing and concrete issues have to be picked up. It is necessary to show how the fight for civil rights can be organized. He said that in New York, the "Daily Worker" made an effort to crusade on some issues. If some people criticize the "Daily Worker" for not being a crusading paper, the answer is how can they report struggles if there are no struggles to report? The paper can only be the organ of a fighting movement and the movement is not fighting at the present time.

STACHEL suggested that Party members should go to the workers and, if necessary, collect pennies and find sources among the people which will give financial aid to the "Daily Worker". He also went into an analysis of the treatment of H-Bomb tests by the papers, illustrating how the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" are conducting a struggle around the statement of ALBERT SCHWEITZER, which deals with the outlawing of H-Bomb tests. He said that recently, practically every issue of each paper has dealt with the SCHWEITZER statement. He said that if it was not for the "Daily Worker", the SCHWEITZER statement would not be known to the public in the United States, since it was censored, suppressed and hardly mentioned in the commercial press. He pointed out that the "Daily Worker" is planning a fact sheet for the middle of May, and suggested that the Party prepare to make use of this fact sheet. This fact sheet is going to contain information dealing with H-Bomb tests, and this information will include statements of scientists and well-known persons.

STACHEL then went on to talk about the question of peaceful co-existence. He said that the "Daily Worker" has made

a contribution in regard to the fight for peaceful co-existence. He stated, however, that he would talk about the weaknesses on this point. He said that there were a number of columns recently in the "Daily Worker" which tended to give advice to the bourgeoisie. These columns, in effect, tell the bourgeoisie not to worry and that everything will come out all right in the end. He said that what the "Daily Worker" columnists forget is the necessity to deal with the class interests involved in the question of the struggle for peaceful co-existence. They tend to forget about imperialism.

STACHEL also talked about wages and taxation, and pointed out that "The Worker" deals with these problems. It is stronger than the "Daily Worker" on this issue and on all questions of national importance. We have not yet learned how to combine skillfully issues of the day with the need to give the reader an education at the same time. It is necessary to periodically go over the paper in order to give an over-all picture of the paper to the National Committee. He quoted from an editorial in the April 5, 1957, issue of the "Daily Worker" which dealt with the NORMAN case. He pointed out that this editorial had many shortcomings. It did not draw any fundamental conclusions. It just gave expression to sentiment and feeling. He said there is nothing wrong with that, but that is not enough for a working class paper. The paper must have a perspective. It must know where the movement is going. We have to give answers to the people when they ask, what do you mean by a coalition? We cannot forget the fundamental answers, and these are the need for Socialism and the need for a perspective for a new Social order. Then he stated that in regard to the economic situation, we have to be more fundamental in our analysis. We must have a perspective and show the workers that not only can they find a way out now, but there is a real way out in the future.

STACHEL went on to deal with the column "Speak Your Piece". He said we should try to stimulate this column. We should try to get comrades to write about their work in various organizations. Since these people have contact with the masses, we can learn an awful lot from them. Therefore, he would suggest that this feature definitely be retained but that it must be given more direction. The letters should deal with issues, and inner Party problems should be referred to a bulletin which will be published by the Party.

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Next STACHEL went into the treatment of the National Convention of the Communist Party - USA by the "Daily Worker". He said he thought that the headlines in the "Daily Worker" were slanted and that they stressed the independence of the Communist Party - USA. He said that he has the idea that perhaps the Editors of the "Daily Worker" are trying to prove that they are respectable in regard to the question of independence and separation from the Soviet Union.

He said that, of course, the paper did print enough during the convention, but after the convention there was a total blackout. The paper has the task of popularizing the convention decisions. This is a job for the press. This is a job for the leading comrades. The "Daily Worker" did not handle this question.

Then STACHEL put emphasis on a very important question, which was fought out at this National Committee meeting. He said that one of the chief weaknesses of the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" is their attitude toward the Socialist countries. He said that he thinks that this attitude is a bad one and results from a wrong political line. He quoted from the National Convention resolution which deals with the Party's attitude toward the Socialist countries. He said that this resolution correctly described, in glowing colors, how the Socialist countries have abolished exploitation and how they are promoting peace, etc. He said that the big business press and the imperialists are trying to vilify the Socialist countries. We have the task of exposing this vilification. We also have the task to expose the Trotskyists and others who vilify the Soviet Union.

Then STACHEL reviewed the articles on Hungary which appeared in the paper. He said that recently there has been nothing in our press about Hungary. He said that we cannot have a newspaper and be silent on such an important problem. He said, let us admit some of the errors since we have learned a lot since the Hungarian events. He said that he has learned from some of the mistakes that were made on the Hungarian question. Nevertheless, we need a sympathetic approach. We need an approach somewhat similar to the approach in the editorial which appeared in the "Peking People's Daily". This editorial pointed to the contradictions. The basic contradictions are between the camp of imperialism and the Socialist states. The other contradictions within the ranks of the Communist Parties

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and the Socialist countries are of a secondary nature. He said that if we had a correct approach on Hungary, we could unify our ranks even when there may be differences.

STACHEL proceeded then to talk about the relation of the paper to the Party. He said that the paper is not the official organ of the Communist Party, but the paper does have a special relationship with the Party. Ideologically, the Party and the paper are one. One could not exist without the other. It is not an independent paper. We must be careful that it does not become an independent paper; that is, a paper independent of the Party as the old Social-Democratic papers used to be. The Social-Democratic papers were one thing, and the Social-Democratic Party was another thing. He said that we cannot organize support for the paper unless we reflect the views of the members. At present, not enough of the views of the Party membership are being reflected in the paper. Then he compared the "Morning Freiheit" and the "Daily Worker" and showed that the "Morning Freiheit" has greater contact with the masses of people than does the "Daily Worker".

STACHEL stated that there is no question but that the paper must reflect and help to execute the line of the Party. The question has arisen, however, in the minds of many as to whether or not this is being done. STACHEL said that he thinks that, in the main, the "Daily Worker" does reflect the line of the Party. The one exception would be the important issue of relations to other Communist Parties and the attitude to the Socialist countries.

He then talked about the right to dissent and concluded that the right to dissent does not apply to the "Daily Worker" editorial staff except as individuals and as members of the Communist Party. CG 5824-S\* commented that by this STACHEL meant that not every columnist can put his own ideas into writing as though the paper is speaking for everyone. STACHEL stated that if a columnist has some disagreement, he should raise this through the proper channels and the Editors of the paper must see to it that no columnist has an individual line. CG 5824-S\* commented that by this statement STACHEL was talking very concretely about JOE CLARK, without mentioning him by name.

STACHEL concluded by pointing out that the present line of the Party is based upon the recent National Convention.



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He said we must do everything possible to insure the carrying out of the line of the convention. The editorial board must be responsible for this line, but there is also needed a committee in the National Board or the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA which would contain JOHN GATES and ST GERSON, both of whom are members of the National Committee, and are on the editorial staff of the "Daily Worker". This committee could guide the paper and see to it that the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" reflect the line of the Party. This committee would help to correct mistakes and to eliminate weaknesses.

STACHEL stated that despite all the mistakes and weaknesses, the paper really deserves twice its present circulation. He cited as an example how the Minnesota District seriously took up the circulation campaign and this has been reflected in the results.

STACHEL went on to complain that the staff of the paper is not being paid regularly, even though they are working hard to put out a paper. He said that Party members are not collecting funds for the paper, so the financial situation is becoming more aggravated. He said all of this leads to the demoralization of the staff and that the Party has to really begin a drive not only for increased circulation, but for funds.

In conclusion, STACHEL stated that the Party has to pull together in the same direction in order to get out of the present bad situation.

Sub-Report on the "Daily Worker" by MAX GORDON

The report of JACK STACHEL was followed by a brief sub-report by MAX GORDON. GORDON stated that as far as the "Daily Worker" is concerned, the time is one minute to midnight. He said that this crisis has been a continuing one since 1951. There has been a decline in the Communist movement and there has been a decline of circulation. He said that the present crisis has a new quality and described this quality as a drop in circulation, accompanied by an internal crisis in the Communist Party.

GORDON then cited some figures. He said that on April 30, 1956, there were 6,300 "The Worker" subscriptions in bundles.

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Today, the number of subscriptions in bundles is 3,500. Last year there were 13,000 individual subscriptions to "The Worker", and today there are 7,700 individual subscriptions. CG 5824-S\* commented that GORDON was comparing the present circulation to the circulation as of April 30, 1956. GORDON stated that the drop in circulation is having an effect on the financial situation because from April 1, 1957, it has been necessary for the paper to exist on the \$100,000 fund drive.

GORDON stated that during the 1957 subscription drive, 2,900 "The Worker" subscriptions have been obtained thus far. He said that in the corresponding period in 1956, 8,600 "The Worker" subscriptions had been received. Translating these figures into income, this means a \$25,000 loss in revenue from individual subscriptions and bundle distribution. GORDON then stated that the current fund drive started on April 1, 1957. Since the beginning of this fund drive, \$3,900 has been received. During the same period of the 1956 fund drive, a total of \$25,000 had been received. He stated that thus far the following amounts have been received:

\$457 from New Jersey  
\$150 from Connecticut  
\$60 from Maryland  
\$2,900 from New York

GORDON stated, And that is all that has been received. He said that in fact there really has been no start in either the circulation drive or the fund drive. He stated that these bare facts are due to the state of the Party at the present time. He said that if we cannot change the situation in the Party at the present time, then there is no basis for a paper.

GORDON stated that there is criticism of the paper and that this criticism is varied. Some critics say that the paper is too close to the Soviet Union, while other critics say that the paper is not sufficiently dependent upon the Party. Because of this, he thinks that mere criticism cannot be the sole reason why the paper is failing. GORDON said that at the present time both the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" are beyond the safety point unless the circulation and fund campaigns can get going as of right now. He said that the total Party publication system may collapse, if the "Daily Worker" collapses.

GORDON then cited figures for the budget for 1957. He said that the budget for the paper is \$375,000. The operating income would come from circulation and collections, and this amount would be \$148,000. Thus, there would be a deficit of \$227,000. He asked how this money can be raised. He said that \$100,000 has to come from the fund drive, \$15,000 has to come from general contributions, and at least \$50,000 has to be raised as sustainers throughout the year.

GORDON then gave statistics for the total circulation of "The Worker". He said that right now the circulation of "The Worker" is 13,700, as compared to 22,200 at the same time in 1956. He said that the circulation of the "Daily Worker" right now is 6,400, as compared to 7,400 in 1956.

GORDON then discussed the need for a Business Manager for the paper. He said that at the present time he is acting in a double capacity. He is acting as a Business Manager and he is also doing writing for the paper. He said that even though he has been promised that he would be released of some of the duties, so that he could devote some of his time to writing, he is still occupied with all sorts of technical business tasks. He stated that what is needed is a strong person to take over as the Business Manager. He said that the Executive Editor, SI GERSON, has just recently been appointed and that he, too, is tied up most of the time doing technical work. He said that it is necessary to get a Business Manager in order to eliminate the situation whereby persons capable of doing good writing are devoting too much time to technical matters.

Next GORDON dealt with the question of whether or not a decision should be made to eliminate the "Daily Worker" and retain "The Worker". He said that it would be impossible to arrive at such a decision. Explaining this remark, he stated that there would be a deficit of over \$100,000, even if publication was limited to "The Worker". He went on to explain that in 1956 a total of only \$45,000 was raised outside of New York. He said that he would not want to ask New York to raise \$50,000 merely for "The Worker". He stated, however, that New York might raise money if it knows that this money is going for a daily paper as well as a paper published once a week. He said that what is necessary is to answer the question as to whether we can have a successful financial and subscription drive at

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the present time and thus prevent the collapse of both papers. He said that he believes that if the Party really gets behind and gives a push to the fund drive and to the circulation drive, that it may be possible to save the paper.

General Discussion on the  
"Daily Worker"

CG 5824-S\* advised that there was a discussion period on the question of trying to save the "Daily Worker".

Remarks of BEN DAVIS, JR.

BEN DAVIS, JR., opened the discussion. He stated that the resident National Committee or the National Administrative Committee had listened to and endorsed the main line of this report by STACHEL on the "Daily Worker". He stated, however, that he, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and [redacted] were among those who did not approve this report when it was presented to the National Administrative Committee. He said that he did not agree with STACHEL's report to the extent that it endorsed the main line of the "Daily Worker".

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DAVIS stated that he once again wants to disagree with JACK STACHEL's report. He stated that he thinks that JACK STACHEL brushes over too lightly the weaknesses in the political line of the paper. The main thing to consider is what kind of line does the "Daily Worker" follow. We cannot base ourselves merely on statistical material as would bank tellers; that is, we cannot merely say that we printed so many articles on this or that item and ignore the content of these articles. Such a bank teller's type of report should be unacceptable to the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA. The National Committee should be more critical of the "Daily Worker" than STACHEL has been in his report. He said that he is not out to get the paper or to get JOHN GATES, but it is necessary to speak plainly.

DAVIS then went on to discuss the attitude of the "Daily Worker" toward the USSR. He said that this is not a small matter and, in fact, it is a main consideration. He then discussed this theory of equating powers. He explained that equating powers is that line which does not make United States imperialism the main danger.

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Concerning JOHN GATES and JOE CLARK, DAVIS stated that he thinks that they have been handled too gently. He also thinks that the "Daily Worker" is treating people like HOWARD FAST, JOHN STEUBEN, and other persons who have left the Party, too gently. This is a fundamental issue. Fighting for the Party is a fundamental issue.

Next DAVIS went on to defend a motion which had been made for the removal of JOHN GATES, at a recent meeting of the resident National Committee. DAVIS stated that he thinks that this motion was correct. He said that we should not cover up our ideological differences, even though we should try to avoid factionalism. The morale in the field is low and this low morale is due to the bad policy of the paper. The paper does not fight. The paper does not come out as the champion of the Party. He thinks that the "Daily Worker" lacks a class struggle approach on national issues as well as international issues. The paper is no challenge to imperialism. The paper cannot fight the H-Bomb tests and cannot fight against American imperialism. The paper does not show how the Soviet Union was the pioneer in the peaceful use of atomic energy and is way ahead of the rest of the world in this field. Therefore, the paper cannot show how it is necessary to fight for peace and co-existence.

According to the informant, DAVIS then stated that the paper is incorrect when it talks about the relationship to other Communist Parties. The paper is incorrect on foreign policy. He asked why the paper has forgotten United States imperialism in Latin America. He said that there is no feeling for the war danger in the staff of the "Daily Worker". The "Daily Worker" says very little in a militant way about the Middle East.

Other Remarks

CG 5824-S\* stated that there was a general discussion and almost everyone who spoke pointed to the weaknesses in the paper, and to the fact that there is dissatisfaction with the paper. Among those who spoke were EMANUEL BLUM, CLARENCE SHARP, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] spoke very critically about the paper. She stated that the paper neglects to print unfavorable news from Negro communities and instead prints pictures of MARILYN

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MONROE. Because of this, she said, no one should wonder why the paper cannot get any money and cannot increase its circulation. [redacted] stated that the "Daily Worker" should be fighting our bloody murderers, the imperialists, instead of fighting the Socialist countries.

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Remarks of [redacted]

[redacted] spoke and his remarks were, in general, similar to those of [redacted]. He said that the paper should slant its line in such a way as to expose United States imperialism and it should not equate the USSR with American imperialism. According to [redacted] this is the heart of this matter.

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Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

DOROTHY HEALEY took issue with the approach to the "Daily Worker" as exemplified in the remarks of [redacted] and [redacted]. She stated that perhaps the paper was wrong in a few things here and there, but Communist journalists are unfortunate people and they should be given help instead of being attacked. She said that in California they are having just as hard a time attempting to raise money for the "Daily Worker" as is being had in the rest of the country. Yet, there is no debate concerning the contents of the paper in California. She stated that she thinks that the crisis in the "Daily Worker" is due to the general low morale in the Party. Thus, when we are discussing the paper, we are actually discussing the situation in the Communist Party today.

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Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was the next speaker in the discussion. He said that during the past year the Party has carried on the most destructive campaign under the guise of self-criticism. Now the chickens are coming home to roost. This is the answer to our own slander. We destroyed the morale of the Party and we destroyed the leadership too. We destroyed the Jefferson School of Social Science because we allowed some professors without an ideology to teach and because of the destructive criticism of the Soviet Union by the "Daily Worker". As soon as the professors began to apologize for the teaching of Marxism, the school went and the Party may be liquidated next.

FOSTER stated that he thinks that STACHEL soft-peddled the criticism of the "Daily Worker". He said that all of the problems concerning the paper stem from the theory of the Political Action Association. This is what is shaping the policy of the "Daily Worker". What we need is a line for the paper, and if the Editor does not give it, who the hell will? FOSTER then proceeded to give some quotations from some columns written by JOE CLARK. He said that CLARK is always hiding the aggressive aims of United States imperialism. He asked where CLARK gets these ideas. Answering this question, he stated that these ideas are taken from an article by JOHN GATES, which was written in November, 1956, and which deals with the Political Action Association. According to FOSTER, in that article the role of United States imperialism is abstracted. FOSTER stated that with regard to the proposal by JACK STACHEL that a committee be appointed to strengthen the "Daily Worker, he believes that this proposal is a step in the right direction. Yet, even this proposal would not be sufficient to bring the kingdom of the "Daily Worker" into line. He said that the "Daily Worker" acts as though it were a kingdom in itself.

FOSTER then asked if the "Daily Worker" is a Party paper or if it is JOHNNY GATES' paper. FOSTER also stated that JOE CLARK should be removed from the "Daily Worker" and that JOHN GATES should also be given another position in the Party. If this were done, perhaps it would be possible to stir up some enthusiasm and it would also be possible to reflect the line of the convention and to rebuild the "Daily Worker".

Remarks of JOHN GATES

CG 5824-S\* advised that JOHN GATES followed WILLIAM Z. FOSTER in the discussion. GATES said that he agrees with the main line of the report of JACK STACHEL. According to GATES, this report was concrete and it was based on facts. GATES said that he thinks that the "Daily Worker" does carry out the line of the Party and that it would only carry out the line of the Party as long as he is Editor of the paper. He said that the "Daily Worker" is not JOHNNY GATES' paper, and then went on to point out that the paper has always been in a crisis. GATES stated that he inherited the paper from MORRIS CHILDS, who in turn had inherited it from others. In 1947, when he inherited the paper, there was a deficit of \$200,000. At the present time, the deficit continues while the income is about \$275,000, which is one-half of the income in 1947.

GATES stated that the present difficulties in the paper are due to the crisis in the Party ranks. If the Party can settle its crisis, then the crisis in the paper can also be solved. GATES said that everyone has contributed to the crisis in the Party. The paper has contributed to this crisis, but so has everyone else in the leadership. GATES stated that he disagrees with those who say that the line of the paper is not (1) A class struggle line; (2) That it does not fight against imperialism; and (3) That the "Daily Worker" fights the Soviet Union and that CLARK's line is not on the beam.

GATES asked, what is the solution to the crisis in the paper? He said that some answer that the solution would be to remove JOHN GATES. If this would be the solution, he said that he is ready to step out as the Editor. He thinks, however, that this would not be the answer. It would further divide the Party and would weaken the Party's contacts with the non-Party masses. He said that he disagrees with the reasoning of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER concerning his, GATES', advocacy of the Political Action Association. GATES stated that he is still for the Political Action Association but that he subordinates himself to the will of the Party and he is not preaching for the Political Action Association in the paper.

GATES stated that the Party cannot set up standards for possible editors for the paper on the basis of the views of people prior to the convention. This standard would disqualify many persons in this room. The standards should be whether the comrade is able and can be depended upon to carry out the line of the Party. GATES said that he thinks that a year ago last May WILLIAM Z. FOSTER did harm to the Party. He divided the Party by his thesis on the "Right wing". He said that as long as there is propaganda that the "Daily Worker" is in the hands of the "Right wing", the crisis will continue.

With regard to the criticism of the paper in its handling of HOWARD FAST, JOHN STEUBEN and JOE STAROBIN, GATES stated that the "Daily Worker" carried editorials concerning these people and also carried an interview with HOWARD FAST. Perhaps these editorials were inadequate, but certainly they were critical of these individuals. The "Daily Worker" did not glorify these people, as some people indicated. GATES said that he thinks it is wrong to denounce these people as traitors. Perhaps they can be won back and can work their way back into



the Party. With regard to JOE CLARK, GATES stated that what he thinks and what is needed in this instance is political correction and not an administrative correction.

GATES stated that he is in favor of the Publications Committee which is being proposed. GATES said that he knew that JACK STACHEL did not mean to imply that the Publications Committee would replace the Editors of the paper. The Publications Committee will, however, be able to improve the day-to-day relationship between the Party leadership and the Editors of the paper.

Remarks of PATRICK TOOHEY

PATRICK TOOHEY made a few remarks in which he said that the "Daily Worker" should be taken out of the factional struggle. TOOHEY also stated that he thinks that it was incorrect for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER to have raised the issue of the Political Action Association at this time. He said that he thinks that the Political Action Association is a dead duck at this period.

Remarks of W. W. WEINSTONE

CG 5824-S\* advised that after a few very brief remarks by EARL DURHAM, WILLIAM WEINSTONE made a few comments. WEINSTONE said that there is a crisis in the Party and there is also a crisis in the paper, but these crises are not identical. He said that the paper has contributed to the crisis in the Party by its attitude toward the Socialist countries. He said that this is an ideological question which should be treated with patience, and yet, it is necessary to strengthen the line of the paper in this regard. He said that it is necessary to round out the staff of the paper. While the report of JACK STACHEL is positive, we cannot underestimate the seriousness of the weaknesses of the paper. The attitude of the paper toward the Socialist states is no small matter. The paper is incorrect on this attitude and it is also incorrect on its attitude toward Hungary.

WEINSTONE said that he thinks that the time has come for a change in the paper. He said that he thinks that GATES is wrong in his appraisal of CLARK. He said that GATES should not try to defend CLARK. WEINSTONE then referred to a statement

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concerning JOSEPH STAROBIN which he has issued. (A photostat copy of this statement will be forwarded to the Bureau and to the New York Office by separate letter.)

WEINSTONE stated that the "Daily Worker" should have issued a similar statement. It should not carry on a war against STAROBIN, but it should argue with him.

In conclusion, WEINSTONE quoted from an editorial in the "Daily Worker" which stated, in essence, that co-existence will change capitalism. He said that he thought that this type of writing is nonsense.

Conclusion of this Phase of the  
Discussion on the "Daily Worker"  
and "The Worker"

CG 5824-S\* advised that BURT NELSON, from Seattle, Washington, was the next speaker during this discussion. He said that he cannot see how GATES, who believes in the Political Action Association, can defend the Party. He said that GATES may think that he has disciplined his thinking, but the attitude of GATES toward the Party is also reflected in the paper, as is also the attitude of GATES toward Hungary and toward the Trotskyites. NELSON stated that in his opinion the "Daily Worker" is too lenient with the enemies of the Socialist countries and with all other enemies of the Party.

GEORGE MEYERS, from Maryland, spoke and agreed with the report of JACK STACHEL. This phase of the discussion on the "Daily Worker" was concluded with a few brief remarks by DAVID DAVIS, of Philadelphia.

At this stage of the discussion, it was suggested that further discussions on the crisis in the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" be postponed and that the meeting deal with leadership problems.

It is noted that the discussion on the "Daily Worker" was supposed to be preliminary to the discussion on leadership in order to clarify ideological agreements and disagreements.

Organization of the Leadership

Preface by EUGENE DENNIS

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EUGENE DENNIS, according to the informant, had a very bad cold and laryngitis. He pleaded that the report on organization of the leadership should be postponed to the following day; however, it was pointed out that he was the only one with notes and that other attempts had been made in sub-committees to replace him in the giving of this report and that this had not been successful. He was asked to give his remarks and everyone present was asked to move closer to the rostrum so that they would be able to hear him.

DENNIS initiated his remarks by stating that this was an individual preface on leadership. He said that approximately two weeks ago there had been a preliminary discussion in the National Administrative Committee, and that some agreements were reached on concepts. They also elected a sub-committee, consisting of DOROTHY HEALEY, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, CARL ROSS, TOMMY DENNIS, [redacted] and HYMAN LUMER. This sub-committee had met for eight hours prior to this National Committee meeting. Thus, the recommendations which he will make toward the conclusion of his remarks will represent the collective thinking of the sub-committee; however, he said he would accept the responsibility for the preface to this discussion on leadership and organization of the National Committee.

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DENNIS discussed the experience of attempting to work in the National Administrative Committee during recent weeks. He said that even under favorable circumstances it would take at least a month to organize the work, since a majority of the staff has resigned. He pointed out that the head of the trade union work, the Educational Director, and the National Treasurer have all resigned from these positions. He also stated that during this recent period, many State Conventions were being held and some of the members of the National Administrative Committee had to attend these conventions. Therefore, whatever little organizing of departments that could be done was done on a temporary basis and temporary task forces were set up. All of this has impeded the work of the Party.

Then DENNIS said that there is a factional atmosphere in the National Administrative Committee, and six members are definitely aligned as a faction. It was in this factional atmosphere that the leadership has had to operate in the recent weeks. While big-scale national and international events were taking place, some of the National Administrative Committee

members tried to make contributions and to fight for Negro freedom and for the defense of labor. The National Administrative Committee began to come to grips with some mass issues and tasks. It organized many discussions. In the main, they were fruitful discussions, especially those regarding mass work. The National Administrative Committee also made an effort to register the political influence of the Party; however, it has been unable to bridge the gap between the formation of decisions and their execution. He said that we are not yet able to overcome the disorganization, the disintegration, the demoralization, and the apathy which prevails in the Party. The National Administrative Committee became bogged down on inner Party problems and was torn apart by factional maneuvers and explosions.

DENNIS then went on to describe the situation in the New York District. He said that the New York District is sharply divided, that caucuses are held openly, and that there is a FOSTER caucus, a DAVIS caucus, and a GATES caucus. He said that even though they had agreed in the National Administrative Committee that they would work for unity at the New York District Convention, the National Administrative Committee was split down the middle on the election of the New York state leadership and the election of members to the National Committee from the New York District. The comrades of the Left caucus said that the National Convention was a victory for the Left of Center group. Therefore, the leadership of the New York District should go to this Left of Center group. The Right said that the results of the National Convention were just the opposite and so they claimed leadership in the New York District. The Left stressed that the chief decisions of the convention were a victory for the Party and that the retention of Marxism-Leninism won out. On the other hand, the Right stressed the question of independence from the Soviet Union as one of the results of the National Convention.

DENNIS stated that both sides gave a one-sided distortion and were blinded by factionalism. Neither side saw and does not yet see or understand the totality of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA. All of these debates, discussions and factional struggles have had a divisive effect on the New York organization. Until a week ago, both New York factions worked as disciplined factions, maneuvering, forming alliances, putting forth slates, etc.

DENNIS stated that the National Administrative Committee intervened in the New York District at the end of March. He, EUGENE DENNIS, JAMES JACKSON and SID STEIN met with all the groups and factions. All the groups said that they would adhere to the line of the National Convention. But when the District Convention opened there was a clear and present danger that there was going to be a walkout from the convention. DENNIS said that those of us who are in the National Administrative Committee took a stand against all factions. We suggested that the New York state leadership be organized and built. DENNIS stated that the National Administrative Committee averted a split in Brooklyn, but that it was necessary to postpone the county convention. According to DENNIS, there has been some easing of tensions during the past week. He said that some of the important national leaders are beginning to disassociate themselves from factions. The industrial groups are beginning to take the lead.

DENNIS went on to describe how the morale and the life of the Party has been seriously disturbed and damaged. He said that nothing should be taken for granted because as far as he knows not all groupings have been dissolved. At the present time it looks like there is an ultra-Left factional group, and this ultra-Left factional group may continue to operate as a faction for a long time to come. There is also an extreme Right faction and this extreme Right faction will try to establish liaison with JOE STAROBIN and others like him. He said these incorrigibles will try to embroil the Party in factional activity. They are confusing the real meaning of the right to dissent.

Continuing, DENNIS emphasized the factional dangers. He said that they are aggravated by differences on theoretical and political questions, such as the Negro question, the Hungarian revolt, the road to Socialism, etc. He said that if these ideological differences and factional groups continue, the mass work of the Party is doomed. He said that he believes that the National Committee and the Party as a whole will demand that these questions be resolved by the Party organization.

DENNIS said that the prime crusade to assure the proper functioning of the National Committee is to put an end to factionalism. Some say that an end can be put to factionalism by plunging the Party into the mass struggle; however, even if we jumped in with both feet tomorrow, this would not mean that

factions will automatically disappear. He said that the Party has become virtually a debating society. We need to clarify the main resolutions and decisions of the convention. We also need to think about local activity in the Negro and labor movements. These activities need to be accompanied by ideological campaigns. We need to show how factionalism means paralysis for the Party and that it injures the Party. The National Committee, by way of example, should establish a measure of unity.

After this phase of his preface, DENNIS went on to talk about the organization of the Center or National Office of the Communist Party. He said that in regard to the functioning of the National Committee, the decisions of the convention should be dealt with. We should show some new approaches and some new methods of work. These new approaches and methods of work are related to the system of leadership. Unlike the past National Committee, we will not merely function as a conference to endorse a tactical decision of the National Board. We will have to try to involve all members of the National Committee in some work so that plenary sessions of the National Committee will be concerned with policy. Tactical problems can be handled by sub-divisions of the National Committee and by State Committees. The National Committee should handle long-term problems.

DENNIS stated that numerically speaking, this National Committee is the largest in the history of the Communist Party. Yet, the Party has the smallest membership that it has had in a decade. He said that the National Committee is supposed to meet four times a year and that one additional meeting is planned for the fall. He said he does not know how this will be possible because of the financial situation, but it is still being planned. He said that between the plenary sessions of the National Committee, there may be regional meetings of National Committee members. Furthermore, it will be necessary for various commissions of the Party, such as the Trade Union Commission, to meet from time to time and National Committee members will be involved in these commissions on a local scale.

DENNIS said that the National Committee should become a real collective. The National Committee members should have local responsibilities, no matter where they are located. They should participate in various commissions and this participation should be outside of New York or wherever the National Office

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will be located. Instead of the old type National Board, he suggested the establishment of a National Executive Committee of fifteen members. He further suggested that this National Executive Committee should meet once a month. Of the fifteen members he proposed for this National Executive Committee, he suggested that not less than one-half come from outside of New York. He stated that he believes that this would be a good way to refresh the leadership in the Center. He said that California should have ex-officio representation alternating between the Northern and the Southern District.

At this stage, DENNIS suggested some nominees for this National Executive Committee. From outside New York, he suggested CARL ROSS, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, CARL WINTER, THOMAS DENNIS, NAT GANLEY, HY LUMER, [REDACTED] STEVE NELSON, DAVID DAVIS, [REDACTED] GEORGE MEYERS and MICHAEL RUSSO. He said that possibly seven or eight members of the National Executive Committee should be from New York, and suggested the following nominees from New York: GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JOHN GATES, SID STEIN, JIM JACKSON, EARL DURHAM, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and FRED FINE.

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CG 5824-S\* advised that at this stage in his remarks, DENNIS' voice cracked and he claimed that he was on the verge of collapse. He asked FRED FINE to take over.

Continuation of the Preface to  
the Organization of Leadership  
by FRED FINE

FRED FINE stated that since he does not have any notes, he is at a disadvantage but he believes that he will be able to remember most of the things which have been discussed recently about organizing the national leadership.

FINE said that since the National Committee and the National Executive Committee will not meet frequently, that is, not more frequently than once a month for the National Executive Committee and three or four times a year for the National Committee, the Party needs other structures and other methods of leadership while at the same time retaining the National Committee as the sole political authority. It is, therefore, necessary to have a division of labor and a checkup on decisions as the day-to-day work of the Party goes on. He said that he

believes that the Sub-Committee on Leadership was unanimous in believing that there should be no National Secretariat. He said that the reason for this is that a secretariat usually substitutes for the National Board or the National Executive Committee, as it may be called. FINE further stated that originally it was suggested that an entire new group of leaders be brought into New York; however, when some of the persons being considered for this, such as BILL SCHNEIDERMAN and CARL WINTER, were approached, they refused to move to New York.

FINE then talked about the National Convention decision to move the National Office to Chicago. He said that there had been a sharp reaction to this decision in the city of Chicago and that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT has claimed that there was a threat against his life as a result of this announcement. FINE stated, however, that he thinks that the Party needs to carry out the decision to move to Chicago and that this decision should be carried out both in spirit and in practice. In the meantime, however, he thinks that an attempt should be made to bring in some new people to New York, inasmuch as the move to Chicago may not occur for some time.

FINE next stated that he thinks that some members of the National Committee should be assigned to work on a functional basis as Chairmen and Secretaries of certain departments. In addition, as officers, they could also be checking on the work of these departments. They could have a certain authority and they could, as members of the National Committee, call for immediate intervention.

FINE stated that perhaps this National Committee should elect some national officers. He said perhaps it should select a Chairman of the National Committee and an Executive Secretary of the National Committee. These posts should be defined and limited. He then suggested EUGENE DENNIS as the nominee for the position of Chairman, and SID STEIN as the nominee for the position of Executive Secretary. FINE stated that perhaps the National Committee should create a special position of Chairman Emeritus for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He further suggested that there might be two Vice Chairmen. His suggestion for these positions would be BENJAMIN DAVIS and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

Continuing, FINE said that the National Office should have various departments and said that some of the departments



should be moved to Chicago. He said that this would be at least a beginning of a move to Chicago and could be the start of carrying on work of the Party with Chicago as the headquarters. FINE stated that he is suggesting himself as the Labor Secretary, in charge of the Labor Department. He said that this department could be divided into two parts. One part would function in the East and the other part would function in the West. There could be co-ordination through key industries. For example, there could be a Steel Commission, an Auto Commission, a Packing Commission, etc.

FINE then stated that there should be a Political Action Committee. His nominees for the Chairmen of this committee or department would be either CARL ROSS or CARL WINTER. He said that he thought that DOC BLUMBERG could be the Secretary, because he is based in New York.

FINE then stated that he thought that there should be an Educational Department. He said that it has been suggested that HY LUMER should be the Chairman of the Educational Department, and another suggestion had been made that NEMMY SPARKS should be LUMER's assistant. He said that this Educational Department could have a publications sub-committee which would supervise "Political Affairs", books, pamphlets, etc. He said that this idea is still in the formative stage and needs to be considered further.

Next FINE suggested the establishing of a Negro Affairs Department. His suggestion as the nominee for the Chairman of this department would be BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., and the nominee for Secretary would be EARL DURHAM. Then FINE stated that he thought that possibly there should be a regional organization for this Negro Affairs Department and possibly for other departments of the National Office. He said that he is not yet ready to set out a plan for the functioning of such a regional organization. He said that perhaps there could be consultations from time to time with the members of the National Committee in a given area getting together just to exchange views. FINE said that he hoped that the new National Board or National Executive Committee would go into this matter.

Next FINE stated that he thought that, on the basis of the discussion in the Sub-Committee on Leadership, there should be a Farm Commission or Farm Department in the National

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Office. He said that his nominee for the Chairmanship of this commission or department would be PETTIS PERRY. He stated, however, that there is some possibility that PETTIS PERRY will go to California when he is released from jail. Because there is this possibility, perhaps a decision with regard to making PERRY the Chairman of any Farm Commission should be held in abeyance.

In concluding these suggestions for the organization of the National Office, FINE stated that he thinks that the Department for the South should be continued, with JIM JACKSON remaining the Chairman.

General Discussion on the Preface  
to Organizational Matters and  
Adjournment

CG 5824-S\* advised that a suggestion was made for adjournment after FRED FINE concluded, because it was very late. In the meantime, however, all hell broke loose. FOSTER, DAVIS, [redacted] and others jumped up and attacked both DENNIS and FINE and the suggestions of the Sub-Committee on Leadership; however, a motion to adjourn was passed since it was necessary to stall for time in order to caucus. Along with the motion to adjourn, it was suggested that the discussion on the "Daily Worker" should be resumed on the following morning and that the discussion on leadership follow the conclusion of the discussion on the "Daily Worker".

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SESSIONS OF SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 1957

Morning Session

Continuation of the Discussion  
on the "Daily Worker" and "The  
Worker"

CG 5824-S\* advised that on Sunday morning, April 28, 1957, THOMAS DENNIS, of Michigan, was the Chairman.

Remarks of SID STEIN

CG 5824-S\* advised that SID STEIN was the first speaker in the resumption of the discussion on the "Daily Worker". STEIN

stated that there should be no head-chopping in an attempt to correct the "Daily Worker". He said that he does not agree with the theory that because JOHN GATES is in favor of a Political Action Association, he is therefore incapable of carrying out the line of the Party in the paper. He said that as long as GATES is not for an anti-Marxist, Socialist-Democratic organization, he can be the Editor of the "Daily Worker". STEIN stated, however, that he believes that the "Daily Worker" should reflect the line of the National Convention. He said that in his opinion the "Daily Worker" should not be a trail blazer and that this should be left to the Party. The National Committee should be the trail blazer.

Remarks of BILL SCHNEIDERMAN

BILL SCHNEIDERMAN was the next speaker during this discussion. He said that everything should be done in an effort to keep the "Daily Worker" in publication. He said that even though they were unable to keep the "Daily People's World" in publication on the West coast and had to discontinue the publication in the first part of 1957, it would be a catastrophe if the "Daily Worker" also goes under.

SCHNEIDERMAN said that he believes that the criticisms of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BENJAMIN DAVIS in regard to the "Daily Worker" are too sharp. He said that in his opinion if this criticism continues, the "Daily Worker" will be killed for sure.

SCHNEIDERMAN then asked, What has happened to the line of the National Convention? He said that this discussion on the "Daily Worker" is a year old. He said the old National Committee abdicated last summer. This occurred when EUGENE DENNIS and BEN DAVIS refused to serve on the Editorial Committee of the paper and to represent the National Committee in this capacity.

SCHNEIDERMAN continued by mentioning the Hungarian revolt. He said that some people want to discuss the events which occurred in Hungary and that they are not for a program of action. He said that evidently a program of action is of no concern to them. SCHNEIDERMAN said that it would be frightening to add up the number of persons who have left the Party. Then he said that if a discussion on Hungary is forced upon the Party at this time, it will mean that more people will be leaving the Party.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON said that everything should be done in order to assure the continued existence of the "Daily Worker". He stated, however, that the paper cannot be an omnibus paper. He said that he thinks that JOE CLARK should be sent to Washington as a correspondent, and that [redacted] would make a good foreign editor replacing CLARK. JACKSON also stated that he thinks that JOHN GATES should relinquish his post as Editor of the "Daily Worker". He said that he believes that GATES could be in charge of legislative work in the Party, but that he ought to go as Editor of the paper.

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Remarks of [redacted]

In a few brief remarks, [redacted] stated that it would be a mistake to remove JOHN GATES as Editor of the "Daily Worker". He said that such action would destroy the confidence of the non-Party people in the Communist movement.

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Remarks of STEVE NELSON

STEVE NELSON stated that in Pittsburgh it is being stated by the membership that the fight among the leaders ought to stop. If there is not a cessation of this fight, the rank and file members will continue to leave the Communist Party. NELSON then launched into an attack against W. W. WEINSTONE and [redacted]. He asked them, Do you condone the Soviet crimes under STALIN? NELSON also stated that lots of things were done in the name of Marxism which were really nonsense.

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Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER stated that the criticism of "The Worker" and the "Daily Worker" is not confined to those present in this room. He said that it is going on within the ranks of the Party. WINTER said that it is impossible to go back to the membership and to tell them that all is well and that it is only necessary to raise \$150,000. He said that either GATES should leave as the Editor of the paper or that, at the very least, he should invite someone to be Associate Editor. He said that he agreed with JACK STACHEL's remarks, in that there is a disparity between the line of the Party and the line of the paper on the attitude toward the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. He said,

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in conclusion, that if you want to know how the membership feels about the paper, then add up the returns in the current fund drive for the paper.

Remarks of SIMON W. GERSON

CG 5824-S\* advised that after a couple of remarks by [redacted] SI GERSON spoke and said that if the "Daily Worker" dies, there would be very little choice among the papers remaining alive. He said that it would be disastrous. GERSON believes that it is possible to revive a bad paper but never a dead one. He said that he thought that JACK STACHEL's report reflects that the paper was 90% all right in its line. He believes, however, that the National Committee will not be patient with those members on the "Daily Worker" staff who do not carry out the line of the convention. He said that he believes that the attitude toward the Socialist countries is important and that they are going to carry out a plan to fight to get some passports so that they can send correspondents to those countries in order to get concrete facts. This should make the Socialist countries more interesting to the readers of the "Daily Worker".

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Remarks of AL RICHMOND

AL RICHMOND was the next speaker during this discussion period. He stated that the "People's World" lost 20% of its financial support last year. He further stated that this loss of 20% more or less corresponded with the loss of membership and influence of the Party. He stated that this 20% was actually the margin of existence for the "People's World". Thus, when this 20% of the total support was lost, it meant that the "People's World" had to cease publication. RICHMOND said that the basic fact for this crisis in the publications is the decline of Party membership.

RICHMOND then asked the question, What would be the objective impact of JOHN GATES' removal? RICHMOND stated that while the removal of JOHN GATES might be correct as far as the inner Party is concerned, we cannot think of the paper as something for our own consumption. It is also necessary to take into consideration what the general public would think of such a decision. RICHMOND believes that the public would say that the Stalinists have once again obtained the upper hand in the Party and are chopping heads. So RICHMOND believes that it is better to criticize than to chop heads at this present moment.

Remarks of HY LUMER

HY LUMER was the next speaker, and he said that the number of bundle subscriptions has decreased because the people are in disagreement with the line of the paper. He said that the "Daily Worker" will go under if some changes and improvements are not made. LUMER also stated that JOE CLARK departs from the line of the paper and that he should be removed.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FRED FINE said that the Party continues to remain sorely divided. He said that if we do not overcome this situation, we cannot solve the problem of the "Daily Worker". He said that some changes have been made. For example, SIMON W. GERSON has been made the Executive Editor, and [redacted] has been made the Editor of "The Worker". He said that we must agree that the "Daily Worker" changed the line and its attitude toward the Socialist countries. He said that it is necessary to correct the thinking of JOE CLARK also. FINE said that if CLARK does not make some corrections himself, that it may be necessary to take other measures against him. FINE also said that he agrees with the essence of the report of JACK STACHEL and he thinks that an effort should be made to try to cure the paper instead of killing the paper.

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FINE continued by stating that the "Daily Worker", with all of its mistakes, made valuable contributions in order to bring the Communist Party closer to other movements and to the people of the United States. He said that we in the National Committee must agree that the paper will follow the line of the National Convention with or without JOHN GATES. At this point FINE stated, however, that he was not going to personally question the integrity of JOHN GATES.

In conclusion, FINE stated that he believes that the Communist Party should spotlight its differences so that an effort can be made to bridge some differences. He said, Let's see if we can agree on this. Let's also at least have a majority attitude.

Remarks of NAT GANLEY

NAT GANLEY, of Michigan, spoke about factional formations. He stated that at the present time these factional formations have become unprincipled.

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CG 5824-S\* advised that after a few brief remarks by MARTHA STONE, this National Committee meeting adjourned for lunch.

Afternoon Session

Continuation of the Discussion on  
the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker"

CG 5824-S\* advised that the afternoon session of April 28, 1957, opened with a continuation of the discussion on the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker".

Remarks of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] from the industrial section of the New York District, was the first speaker. He attacked the "Daily Worker" for its contents and he said that it seems that the paper emphasizes tactical ends rather than strategic aims of the Communist Party.

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Remarks of SID TAYLOR and  
GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

SID TAYLOR, of Connecticut, stated that he thought that JACK STACHEL's report hits the nail on the head.

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY said that it is necessary to save the "Daily Worker" and thus save the rest of the Party press in this manner. CHARNEY said that while he is a member of the District Committee of the New York District, he cannot speak as the leader of the State organization. He stated, however, that the New York District is scheduled to hold a meeting on May 25, 1957, and at that time he would personally bring up the question of saving the "Daily Worker" and urge the mobilization of all the resources of the New York District for this task.

Proposals Concerning the  
"Daily Worker"

CG 5824-S\* advised that after a few remarks by JESUS COLON, several proposals were made. Many of these proposals caused a heated discussion and political fight.

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The first proposal was to adopt the line of the report of JACK STACHEL on the "Daily Worker". It is noted that this proposal was finally adopted but not until after several hours of struggle.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER proposed an amendment to this first proposal. FOSTER's amendment, which was actually considered a substitute proposal, called for the rejection of those sections of STACHEL's report which specifically endorse the political line of the "Daily Worker".

JACK STACHEL made a motion that the National Executive Committee should establish a Publications Committee which would guide the paper; however, the Editor and the Executive Editor of the "Daily Worker" would be included in this Publications Committee. He explained that this Publications Committee should not be considered as an organization which would impose its will on the "Daily Worker" every single day, but should be considered as an organization which would work with the Editors of the paper in order to bring about closer harmony between the Editors and the Party leadership.

Another proposal was made and this proposal requires the National Executive Committee to undertake whatever improvements may be necessary in order to strengthen the paper. These improvements would not be made until after consultation with the staff of the "Daily Worker".

Proposal by WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
Concerning the Attitude Toward  
Socialist Countries and the USSR

WILLIAM WEINSTONE made a motion which called for the approving of the report of JACK STACHEL but also required that the weaknesses in the paper be pointed out.

At this point, W. W. WEINSTONE quoted from the main resolution of the Communist Party on page 68. The quotation is as follows:

"The Soviet Union, People's China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe are socialist countries. The system of capitalist exploitation has been abolished in these countries and, together with it, the cause of



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poverty, fascism, war, national oppression and race discrimination. From the beginning, the Communist Party has greeted and supported the efforts of the working people of these countries to build a new life for themselves on socialist foundations.

"Big Business tries to vilify these countries, to slander and defeat them, to incite hostility against them. In the interest of the American people the Communist Party is concerned with nailing these lies and exposing these slanders.

"The attitude of the Communist Party to these countries reflects its devotion to the great principle of working class internationalism which has deep roots in our country's history. This tradition of international solidarity is a proud one. The Communist Party continues it and considers it a badge of honor."

CG 5824-S\* commented that this motion was made because the general discussion had brought out that one of the chief weaknesses of the "Daily Worker and "The Worker" is their attitude toward the so-called Socialist countries, particularly to the Soviet Union. All other proposals were forgotten and the debate on this proposition, in the form of amendments and omnibus talk, lasted for hours. This proposition had split this meeting of the National Committee right down the middle. A vote was taken after a long argument and the vote was 25 for WEINSTONE's proposal, 25 against, and there were two abstentions. There was a little conference at this point between STACHEL, WEINSTONE and others, and it was decided, in view of the tie vote, to refer this proposition to the incoming National Executive Committee in order to formulate it in such a way that it will be in keeping with the report of STACHEL and yet contain the essence of the motion by WEINSTONE.

Proposals by BEN DAVIS, CHARLES  
LOMAN, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and  
JAMES JACKSON

CG 5824-S\* advised that even after the vote on the motion by WEINSTONE, BEN DAVIS made an amendment to WEINSTONE's proposal. He said that the discussion concerning the report of JACK STACHEL on the "Daily Worker" shows that the "Daily Worker"

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has some positive and some negative features. Because of this, he wanted to re-introduce the proposal made by WILLIAM WEINSTONE. DAVIS made this proposal in the form of a motion, and this motion was defeated.

[redacted] then made a proposal in which he wanted it said quite clearly that guidance must be given to the "Daily Worker" daily by the National Executive Committee. This motion was put to a vote and only ten persons voted in favor of it. CG 5824-S\* commented that these ten votes reflect the support around WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER made a proposal in which he said that despite the errors committed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Workers Socialist Party in Hungary, it was correct to use Soviet troops in Hungary in order to put down the counter-revolution. CG 5824-S\* advised that there was a considerable fight concerning this motion. Several persons asked WILLIAM Z. FOSTER if he wanted to re-introduce the Hungarian situation and possibly bring about all kinds of horrors to the Party, including a split in the Party. The proposal of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was put to a vote and was defeated.

BEN DAVIS then made another proposal which called for the National Committee to go on record asking for the removal of JOE CLARK as the foreign editor of the "Daily Worker". This proposal was put to a vote and there were only eight votes in favor, while 26 were opposed, and seventeen abstained. The informant commented that the vote on this proposition indicates that there is a split down the middle of the National Committee. The majority of the National Committee, however, would like to bring about some changes in the "Daily Worker".

BEN DAVIS made another proposal in which he would require the National Committee to go on record to remove JOHNNY GATES as Editor of the "Daily Worker". This proposal was put to a vote. There were six votes in favor, 37 opposed, and seven abstentions were recorded.

JIM JACKSON then made a motion that the Publications Committee make the "Daily Worker" its first order of business. JACKSON also went into an attack against JOHN GATES and JOE CLARK. He also added a statement to his motion requiring the report of JACK STACHEL on the "Daily Worker" to be published.

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This motion by JAMES JACKSON was put to a vote and was approved.

Another motion was made requiring that the votes taken at this meeting should not be carried in any press dispatch and should not be discussed in the Party organization. This proposal was approved.

CG 5824-S\* advised that the vote to adopt the line of the report of JACK STACHEL on the "Daily Worker" was as follows: 41 for; 6 against; 4 abstentions.

The motion of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER to reject that part of STACHEL's report which specifically endorses the political view of the "Daily Worker" was defeated.

The motion requiring the National Executive Committee to establish a Publications Committee was adopted. This committee is to include the Editor and the Executive Editor of the "Daily Worker".

The proposal to strengthen the paper in consultation with the staff of the paper was also adopted without a count of the vote.

CG 5824-S\* advised that all other negative motions on the part of the Left, as led by FOSTER and DAVIS, were defeated.

Comments of CG 5824-S\* on the  
Report, Discussion and Motions  
Concerning the "Daily Worker"

CG 5824-S\* commented that it would be a mistake to dismiss this lengthy debate on the "Daily Worker" or to misinterpret the votes on the motions. CG 5824-S\* stated that in his opinion the overwhelming majority of the members of the National Committee really wanted to remove JOHN GATES as the Editor of the "Daily Worker", or at least to place the line of the "Daily Worker" more in keeping with the international aims of Communism. This would mean particular emphasis on more loyalty to the Soviet Union and to other so-called Socialist states. CG 5824-S\* stated that practically every District registered complaints about the "Daily Worker" and it was quite obvious that the paper is not making any headway in regard to

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the circulation and fund drive because the Party membership is also complaining about the line of the "Daily Worker". The members are not attempting to raise money or to get subscriptions and they will not until such time as the line of the paper becomes more positive in its attitude to the Communist or so-called Socialist countries.

CG 5824-S\* further commented that this debate proved that there is a division in the leadership all down the line. It might be asked, why the vote against the removal of CLARK and GATES? One reason is that while they do want more ideological firmness, they are afraid of a split. In fact, DENNIS stated that there are some people who are still biding their time. He said that these Party members have made connections with what he calls people from the outside; that is, ex-Party members such as JOE STAROBIN and others who are waiting for the proper moment in order to further split the Communist Party. Some of the National Committee members believe that an effort has been made to unite as much of the Party as possible before a show-down battle is engaged in with the Right wing forces in the Party. The proposals to use administrative measures came chiefly from the ultra-Left, as led by BEN DAVIS and encouraged by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. The majority of the National Committee members feel that these proposals were reckless and that they do not take into consideration the tactical need to be careful and not to project a split which, in its end result, might be favorable to the Right wing group.

The discussion on the "Daily Worker" was primarily an ideological debate. Despite all the protestations about the dire financial situation in the "Daily Worker" and its serious circulation difficulties, there was no positive action taken by this National Committee meeting. This emphasizes that the fight in the Party leadership is on other grounds; that is, that ideology is the most important issue in the Communist Party at the present time.

#### Evening Session

#### Continuation of the Discussion on the Organization of Leadership

#### Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

CG 5824-S\* advised that the evening session returned

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to a discussion on leadership; however, instead of having a general discussion on leadership, with criticism and self-criticism of the past leaders, it was decided that it was necessary to proceed to elect a National Executive Committee.

CG 5824-S\* commented that the National Executive Committee replaces what was formerly called the National Board. The informant further commented that the reason for this proposal to proceed to elect the National Executive Committee resulted from a bitter criticism of the preface on organization made by EUGENE DENNIS. FOSTER and DAVIS and others loudly protested that EUGENE DENNIS took advantage of the situation. They stated that his preface consisted primarily of his own opinion and did not reflect the collective opinion of the Subcommittee on Leadership. While DENNIS charged everyone with factionalism and put on a "holier than thou" attitude, the critics stated that EUGENE DENNIS has been more factional than anyone. FOSTER and DAVIS stated that DENNIS, by placing himself in the center, showed all of his weaknesses and yet, by conciliating here and there, he quietly organized the largest faction under the guise of Party unity. Thus, FOSTER and DAVIS were in favor of a continuation of the discussion on leadership so that they could prove EUGENE DENNIS is a factionalist and that he does not deserve to be in the leadership and is not in a position to condemn others without criticizing himself.

CG 5824-S\* further commented that since it was now late Sunday evening, most of the National Committee members were in no mood for further discussion. They also knew, as a result of the previous discussion on the "Daily Worker", that there was little likelihood of achieving any positive results. Furthermore, some of the members of the National Committee would have to return to their jobs on the following day. A poll was taken to determine whether or not it would be possible for the National Committee to hold a session on Monday, and the results of this poll showed that about one-third of the members would not be able to attend. A vote was taken to determine if the National Committee could meet Monday evening in order to endorse any action that might be taken by the new National Executive Committee during Monday, April 29, 1957. While it was agreed that this meeting would be held, if necessary, subsequent results showed that the National Executive Committee was unable to reach any positive results which could be acted on by the National Committee on Monday evening.

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CG 5824-S\* commented that at this time it became quite obvious that the original proposals of the Sub-Committee on Leadership, as well as the proposals of EUGENE DENNIS and FRED FINE, would not be confirmed by this National Committee. There would be jockeying for positions and most of the suggestions would be repudiated or referred to the new National Executive Committee.

Selection of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
as Chairman Emeritus

CG 5824-S\* advised that JACK STACHEL nominated WILLIAM Z. FOSTER for Chairman Emeritus. This nomination speech was a very moving one which almost brought tears to the eyes of the old-timers and to FOSTER himself. FOSTER was selected as the Chairman Emeritus by acclamation.

Motion to Elect the National  
Executive Committee

A motion was made to elect fifteen persons to the National Executive Committee. This motion called for eight of these persons to be from outside New York. An amendment was made to the motion calling for the election of seventeen members, with the proviso that two of these seventeen are to be from the West coast. Thus, seven of the seventeen would be from New York. As will be seen later, the total membership of the National Executive Committee finally elected is twenty.

Nominations and Elections of  
the National Executive Committee

CG 5824-S\* advised that the elections to the National Executive Committee were made by secret ballot. The ballot was mimeographed and tellers were appointed. It was decided that in any case where there would be no contest, it would be permissible to vote "no"; however, in the event of a choice of candidates, it would be necessary to vote for the number to be elected, whether that number be two, seven or eight. In other words, there were three separate elections and the so-called "bullet ballot" was ruled out as a result of the elections at the National Convention. There was a review of what occurred at the National Convention. It was stated that caucuses were held at that time and these resulted in concentrated

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votes being cast and thus, in a negative way, it was possible to defeat some persons who should have been on the National Committee.

For the two National Executive Committee members from the West coast, the following persons were nominated:

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[REDACTED]  
DOROTHY HEALEY CONNELLY  
BILL SCHNEIDERMAN  
BURT GALE NELSON, from Seattle

SCHNEIDERMAN refused this nomination. Thus, the contest was between NELSON and the two persons from California, with California having a larger representation on the National Committee. Furthermore, NELSON takes an extreme Left position and is looked upon as a FOSTER-DAVIS man.

The vote for the two National Executive Committee members from the West coast was as follows:

[REDACTED] - 47 votes  
DOROTHY HEALEY CONNELLY - 41 votes  
BURT GALE NELSON - 15 votes  
[REDACTED] -  
1 write-in vote

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A total of fifty-two votes were cast and, of course, [REDACTED] and HEALEY were elected.

The nominees for the eight National Executive Committee members from outside of New York were as follows:

CARL ROSS	GEORGE MEYERS
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	MICHAEL RUSSO
CARL WINTER	PATRICK TOOHEY
TOMMY DENNIS	[REDACTED]
NAT GANLEY	EMANUEL BLUM
HYMAN LUMER	[REDACTED]
STEVE NELSON	SID TAYLOR
DAVID DAVIS	SAM KUSHNER
[REDACTED]	

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The following persons declined the nomination:

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SAM KUSHNER  
SID TAYLOR

[REDACTED]

PATRICK TOOHEY  
STEVE NELSON  
NAT GANLEY  
THOMMY DENNIS  
EMANUEL BLUM, who first accepted  
and then made a state-  
ment declining

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The following listed persons were, therefore, the only ones in the running and they were elected. The vote they received is opposite their name:

CARL ROSS - 47 votes  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT - 52 votes  
CARL WINTER - 48 votes  
HYMAN LUMER - 39 votes  
DAVID DAVIS - 48 votes  
[REDACTED] - 39 votes  
GEORGE MEYERS - 46 votes  
MICHAEL RUSSO - 37 votes

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The following was the vote for the nominees for the seven members of the National Executive Committee from New York:

EUGENE DENNIS - 39 votes  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN - 36 votes  
FRED FINE - 34 votes  
GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY - 33 votes  
JOHN GATES - 33 votes  
JAMES JACKSON - 32 votes  
BEN DAVIS, JR. - 29 votes  
SID STEIN - 28 votes  
EARL DURHAM - 27 votes  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER - 23 votes  
[REDACTED] - 10 votes  
[REDACTED] - 10 votes

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CG 5824-S\* advised that four ballots were voided, since the persons voted for more than seven candidates.



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Inasmuch as the seven receiving the highest vote were elected, this meant that SID STEIN, EARL DURHAM and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER were defeated. This caused considerable consternation and a blow-up. The National Committee members realized that SID STEIN was being considered for the position of Executive Secretary. Furthermore, if it became known that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was defeated for membership on the National Executive Committee, it could create an international scandal and would probably rally the rank and file members around the Left and around FOSTER.

CG 5824-S\* commented that while FOSTER does not have a majority in the National Committee, he could obtain a majority among the Party membership if he were to make a personal appeal and BEN DAVIS supported this appeal purely on the Negro question. Thus, the National Committee would be in real trouble. The defeat of FOSTER was particularly bad since he had been selected as Chairman Emeritus by acclamation and with this honor it was believed that he would be elected to the National Executive Committee. CG 5824-S\* commented that the Right wing and Center groups formed a united front and this caused the defeat of FOSTER. The Center group included SID STEIN, FRED FINE and others who have been termed conciliators by FOSTER. Thus, the question was presented, How would it be possible to get out of this situation?

There was a recess and it was decided to establish a sub-committee, with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as Chairman. This sub-committee consisted primarily of the same individuals who composed the original Sub-Committee on Leadership. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT gave the report for this sub-committee. He said that it was agreed that the sub-committee should be motivated by political concessions, chiefly the unity of the Party. On this basis, they suggested that the National Executive Committee be increased to twenty members and that FOSTER, STEIN and DURHAM be added to the National Executive Committee. This suggestion was adopted.

CG 5824-S\* advised that the National Committee also voted not to popularize this compromise, although it was admitted that the rumor factory is at work in New York and that undoubtedly this would be known in a few days.

Discussion in an Effort to  
Elect National Officers

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CG 5824-S\* advised that a discussion started in an effort to nominate and elect national officers, even though it was obvious that the National Committee could not elect officers at this meeting.

Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER said that he is opposed to the proposals which were made by the Sub-Committee on Leadership. He said that the sub-committee is proposing the election of general officers. He said that EUGENE DENNIS was also making the same proposal and he was opposed to this also. FOSTER said that he was under the impression that the old National Committee had agreed that there would be no election of general officers. FOSTER said that if the National Committee follows through and adopts the proposals which were made by EUGENE DENNIS and FRED FINE and by the Sub-Committee on Leadership, then the general officers elected would have more power than any officers ever had in the history of the Communist Party. He said that there would be no control over the actions of these officers by a secretariat or by anyone else between meetings of the National Executive Committee.

At this point, FOSTER went into a harangue and discussed the results of the conventions of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Labor Progressive Party, the Communist Party of Canada. He said that these conventions were able to defeat revisionism and to emerge from their conventions united and solid. He said this is not so in regard to the Communist Party - USA. FOSTER said that we are just sitting back and are once again suggesting the old form of organizing the Center. Then FOSTER stated, We have a strong Right tendency in the Party. In New York, there are four groups: The Right, the Left, the Middle and the ultra-Left. FOSTER then made an attack against DENNIS. He said that DENNIS is an active factionalist. DENNIS is not holier than any other person. DENNIS used the Middle faction for his own purposes. FOSTER went on to say that if the recommendations made at this meeting by EUGENE DENNIS are followed, that it will mean the election of a DENNIS-STEIN combination. He said that he does not think that the DENNIS-STEIN combination is strong enough to lead the Party. He said that DENNIS was the leader of the Middle group, which is a vacillating group. FOSTER said that the principal reason that the Right wing in the American Communist Party could not be

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liquidated is because SID STEIN has worked with the Right wing in an underground fashion. He said that STEIN is a part of the Right wing even though, on the surface, he seems to conciliate with everyone.

FOSTER then gave his proposals in the event that it was decided to elect national officers. He said that persons should be selected who have a firm line. He proposed that in place of SID STEIN, that BEN DAVIS should be made the Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA. FOSTER made another proposal which would call for the selecting of five Secretaries of equal standing. He said that these Secretaries could be formed into a secretariat. In conclusion, FOSTER stated that there has been a collapse of the leadership and the responsibility for this collapse rests firmly on the shoulders of the Middle and vacillating group led by DENNIS and STEIN.

Remarks of [redacted]

CG 5824-S\* advised that [redacted] made a few remarks in which he stated that he was very much shocked by the inner Party struggle. He stated that since he is from Montana, he did not realize that there was so much strife among the national leaders of the Communist Party - USA.

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Remarks of [redacted]

CG 5824-S\* advised that for the first time at this meeting [redacted] spoke for a few minutes. He stated that factionalism is a great danger and that this meeting should pass a motion calling for the expulsion of any member of the National Committee who participates in a faction. [redacted] further stated that he was in favor of the election of national officers.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

CG 5824-S\* advised that BEN DAVIS once again launched into an attack on the preface to the discussion on organization which had been made by EUGENE DENNIS. DAVIS stated that DENNIS shares in the participation in factionalism. He condemned DENNIS for not being self-critical. DAVIS stated that he had tried to bring about unity at the District Convention in New York, but that EUGENE DENNIS did not. He said that DENNIS threw a bombshell into the New York District Convention.

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DAVIS further stated that he is not in the running for Vice Chairman or any other national office in the Communist Party. He said that he, too, was opposed to the election of national officers. He commented that there has been no task outlined for a Vice President or Vice Chairman, and that usually anyone in such a position are usually passive people, who fall in from time to time for someone else.

At this point DAVIS made the issue crystal clear. He said that if the National Committee goes ahead with the election of national officers, he would make the issue one of White versus Negro. He said that the period has passed when the Negro cadre in the Communist Party can only be assistants. He said that the African and Asian peoples are up in revolt against imperialism. There is a tremendous struggle in the South to prove that the Negro is not going to be brow-beaten and subordinated to the white man. He said that he thinks that the National Committee members should understand what is going on in the world and that the white comrades should have faced this problem. He said that if he is merely a member of the National Committee and is not a member of the secretariat or does not have a national office, that he will continue to remain loyal to the Communist Party.

DAVIS further stated that he believes that the National Executive Committee should not be the policy-making body of the Communist Party, but that policy-making should be restricted to the National Committee. He said that in this manner it would be possible to defeat the Right wing and to prevent the national leadership from falling into the hands of the Right wing.

CG 5824-S\* commented that at this point everyone was looking for a way out of this discussion. The informant stated that it was obvious that national officers could not be elected at this meeting and that the membership could not be told that the issue was mainly between DENNIS and DAVIS, and thus was an issue of White versus Negro.

Remarks of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN took the floor and made a terrific attack against WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He said that FOSTER's speech once again proves that it takes a brave comrade with a

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thick hide to run for any position, even for dog catcher, in the Communist Party. SCHNEIDERMAN said that he is in favor of honoring WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and he believes that this National Committee has honored FOSTER by electing him Chairman Emeritus by acclamation, but he believes that FOSTER is continuing to harm the Party. SCHNEIDERMAN said that FOSTER is always placing people in one group or another. He said that FOSTER states that people belong to the Right danger or some other danger. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that about a year ago FOSTER put JOE STAROBIN in the Right danger. He followed this by placing JOE CLARK in the Right danger. Then he placed JOHN GATES in the Right wing. This was followed by placing FINE, then STEIN, and then BILL SCHNEIDERMAN in the Right wing.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] made a motion to elect five Secretaries. This motion was based on the proposition of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and was defeated with only seven persons voting in favor of it.

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Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

WILLIAM WEINSTONE made a motion calling for the election of a secretariat and the elimination of the office of Vice Chairman. CG 5824-S\* advised that this motion was adopted, but without a vote tabulation.

Remarks of CARL ROSS and NAT GANLEY

CARL ROSS then entered the discussion and stated that he was in favor of the original proposals of the Sub-Committee on Leadership.

NAT GANLEY made a few remarks in which he condemned factionalism.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS entered the discussion once again. He said that he was opposed to the election of national officers. He stated that, as he recalled, the proposal to elect national officers was not adopted unanimously by the Sub-Committee on Leadership, but since the majority of those composing this Sub-Committee on Leadership were in favor of electing national officers, he went along with them.

CG 100-2398

Nominations for National Officers

CG 5824-S\* advised that despite the many statements opposing the election of national officers, various nominations were made for these positions. EUGENE DENNIS was nominated for Chairman. WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN was also nominated for Chairman, but he declined. BEN DAVIS was also nominated and he did not decline. The following people were nominated for the position of Executive or Administrative Secretary:

SID STEIN  
STEVE NELSON  
JAMES JACKSON  
CARL WINTER

All of these persons declined, except SID STEIN.

General Discussion and Motions

CG 5824-S\* advised that a motion was then made to reconsider the whole question of having Vice Chairmen. HY LUMER made a motion calling for the selection of Co-Chairmen.

EUGENE DENNIS spoke again and said that a costly mistake was made when the National Administrative Committee did not elect a secretariat immediately following the National Convention. DENNIS stated that what the Party needs in the national leadership is a combination which will unite the Party. He again urged that the idea of electing officers be dropped and that a secretariat be elected.

FRED FINE spoke again and stated that he was opposed to the idea of a secretariat.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that he favored the proposal of EUGENE DENNIS that the idea of electing Vice Presidents be withdrawn. LIGHTFOOT further stated that he was inclined to go along with the proposition of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER that five Secretaries of equal standing should be elected. He further stated that he thought that a sub-committee should be appointed to bring in proposals for these five positions of Secretary.

Proposal of Sub-Committee on Leadership

CG 5824-S\* advised that after a brief adjournment, the

CG 100-2398

Sub-Committee on Leadership introduced a proposal. The proposal by the sub-committee was introduced by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

LIGHTFOOT informed the National Committee that BEN DAVIS had appeared before the sub-committee and agreed that he would endorse the idea of a secretariat being established. LIGHTFOOT stated, however, that the sub-committee was unable to agree on whether the secretariat should consist of three, five or seven persons. Since they could not agree on the number of members to compose a secretariat, the sub-committee is proposing that the National Executive Committee meet on Monday, April 29, 1957, for the purpose of establishing a secretariat. LIGHTFOOT further stated that it was agreed by the sub-committee that if the National Committee would be unable to meet on Monday evening in order to endorse the action by the National Executive Committee, then the full National Committee would be requested to endorse whatever action would be taken by the National Executive Committee at the next meeting of the National Committee in three months. LIGHTFOOT further stated that there was another proposal that at least two Negroes be members of the secretariat, if and when a secretariat is established.

CG 5824-S\* advised that this proposal also resulted in a long debate concerning the advisability of electing a secretariat; however, the idea of electing a secretariat was adopted by the National Committee. While there was no count of the vote, there were four persons who abstained from voting.

Announcements of Meetings to be  
Held on April 29, 1957, and  
Adjournment

CG 5824-S\* advised that at this time an announcement was made that various meetings would be held in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA, at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on Monday, April 29, 1957. These meetings included the meeting of the new National Executive Committee, a meeting of the Farmers Committee or anyone who is interested in farm work. It was also announced that there would be a meeting of the Pilgrimage Committee.

CG 5824-S\* advised that after the announcement concerning these meetings, this National Committee meeting adjourned.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5-9-57

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on May 1, 1957, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING several dictaphone memo belts, the transcription of which is located in Chicago file A/134-46-3672. The following appears in this transcription and consists primarily of observations and comments by CG 5824-S\* as a result of his attendance at a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, held in New York City on April 27 and 28, 1957:

The division in the ranks of the Communist Party - USA continues. While the extent of losses of members is not known, it is estimated to be considerable. A number of persons commented that the membership figure in the New York District is not much larger today than that of the State of California.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 14 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-4931) (Communist Party - USA) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-9364) (JAMES FORD)
  - (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-8879) (AL LANNON) (#7-5)
  - (1 - 100-52959) [REDACTED] (#20-11/00 - 80638 - 1197)
  - (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#7-1)
- 3 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46-3672a)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

JW  
JEK: kw  
(19)

Waters  
#19  
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CG 100-18953

While these persons cannot cite figures, they are in a position to evaluate the Party situation in New York.

The current crisis in the Communist Party - USA is due to an ideological split. The chief issue dividing both the leadership and the membership is the question of allegiance to international Communism, particularly the Soviet Union.

A split in the Communist Party - USA is a possibility. Some of the persons such as JOHN GATES, who are currently pledging allegiance to the Party, may be doing so only to improve their organizational position. Thus, at the right moment, if there is a split in the Communist Party, they might be able to take an appreciable number of forces with them. Some of the supporters of JOHN GATES, and even some of the Center forces around SID STEIN and FRED FINE, are said to be retaining contact with A. J. MUSTE and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

There was much criticism about arrangements for the May Day meeting in New York City, since there was to be no well known Communist speaker on the platform. Dr. W.E.B. DU BOIS was advanced as a speaker in an attempt to establish some kind of unity with various Socialist sects.

The personalities of persons such as WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., and the ideological rigidity of the leadership of the Communist Party - USA makes it improbable that the Right wing will be permitted to strengthen its position in the Communist Party - USA at the expense of Soviet aims. The fight will continue in the Communist Party - USA until the Right wing is driven out of the Party. That this will eventually happen is based upon the following observation: With the exception of a few top leaders, the vast majority of supporters of the Right wing have left or are leaving the Communist Party voluntarily. What remains of the Communist Party - USA, including the majority of the cadre, is inclined to the Left and is sympathetic to the Soviet Union, China and the satellite countries.

There is information that an ultra-Left group, led by AL LANNON, JAMES FORD, and, to some degree, [redacted], has already planned a national organization. They intend to continue to act as an opposition in the Communist Party - USA, even though they may not caucus separately as frequently as they have in recent weeks.

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CG 100-18953

The supporters of the Left are waging a bitter struggle for organizational positions in the belief that by controlling the organization they can safeguard the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Since the debate on Stalinism, as a result of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, most of the Communist Parties have held conventions and congresses, and have made re-organizations. Most of the Communist Parties, with the exception of the Communist Party - USA, endorsed the line of the CPSU. The Communist Party of Great Britain and the Labor Progressive Party, the Communist Party of Canada, accepted the dictum of the Communist Party of China, which says that even though there may be contradictions, the leading role in the international Communist movement must be assigned to the CPSU.

The Communist Party - USA has not gone this far; however, FOSTER and his adherents will wage a fight to have the Communist Party - USA accept this leading role for the CPSU. Many adherents of DENNIS say that they are supporting him only because they believe he favors proletarian internationalism and because he took a stand on the Hungarian situation, which was an endorsement of the position of the Soviet Union. These adherents of DENNIS will also wage a fight to have the leading role assigned to the CPSU and make this a guide for the Communist Party - USA.

Except for an individual leader here and there, it is obvious that the CPSU has very little use for the Communist Party - USA, as it is presently constituted. The CPSU will wage a fight to bring the Communist Party - USA back into the fold from an ideological standpoint. It will not be concerned with the type of tactics used. The CPSU will require the Communist Party - USA to state unconditionally that it adheres to the line of the Socialist countries, that it will assist the anti-colonial revolution and that it will fight against imperialism, the center of which is in the United States. This is the viewpoint of the CPSU and all other Parties in the international Communist movement. The Communist Party - USA will either have to knuckle under or split. Until that time it will not be allowed any peace by the international Communist movement.

The CPSU printed the full speeches of both WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and EUGENE DENNIS, which were presented to the National Convention of the Communist Party - USA in February, 1957. These speeches were published in the March, 1957, No. 4, issue of "The

CG 100-18953

Communist", the leading theoretical organ in the international Communist movement and in the CPSU. These speeches are contradictory. Thus, the CPSU is telling the international Communist movement that there are differences within the Communist Party - USA. While the CPSU has not taken a stand as yet, it also has not abandoned either FOSTER or DENNIS and certainly has not abandoned FOSTER.

Among the top leadership in the Communist Party - USA, there is little cause for optimism. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT concluded that the meeting of the National Executive Committee on April 28, 1957, resolved few problems. He said, The fight is as bitter as ever and there seems to be no solution to the matter of establishing a leadership, with authority, which can lead the Communist Party to unity and to mass work.

Most of the National Committee members from throughout the United States expressed the feeling that the morale of the Party has never been so low. The fact that so little money is being raised and the circulation of the Party press continues to decline, is a sign that the Party continues to disintegrate.

On the other hand, there is some optimism at the present time. The Negroes feel that the Party is returning to mass tasks by participating in the Prayer Pilgrimage scheduled for May 17, 1957, in Washington, D.C. Other Communist Party members feel that a possibility is presented to return to positions of influence within the trade union movement by utilizing the Congressional investigation of racketeering in the labor movement as an attack against labor. Thus, the Communist Party might merge with labor, ostensibly to defend the rights of the working man. Yet, those Communist Party members working within mass organizations feel that the Party can make progress in these organizations only by showing less allegiance to the Soviet Union and to a foreign ideology.

Despite this bit of optimism and the fact that the Communist Party still has a core of trained and experienced people, the situation does not look good for the Communist Party - USA.

While the National Executive Committee could not establish a Secretariat on April 29, 1957, it probably will succeed in establishing one in the near future. Yet, this Secretariat, regardless of its composition, will have little

CG 100-18953

authority in the Party. This is due to the fact that there is this division into factions and there is no complete agreement on the ideology. No Party can function without confidence in a small number of individuals who are looked upon as leaders. The Communist Party, which has always been based on the theory and cult of the leadership, as well as centralism, cannot operate with a number of persons having equal authority.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

5/10/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

CP USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
IS - C

Rebulet 6/27/56 instructing NYO to furnish Bureau on a bimonthly basis the number of CP members identified beginning 9/1/56; New York letter 3/5/57 reporting for the period 1/1/57 through 3/1/57; and New York letter 4/24/57 entitled "Security Investigations of Individuals" (Bufile 100-358086-sub 34).

The following corrections should be made in reNYlet 3/5/57:

Page 1, following "Westchester," column 2: change 3 to 6  
column 3: change 24 to 0  
column 4: change -21 to 6  
column 5: change 45 to 72

Page 2, following "Totals," column 2: change 97 to 100  
column 3: change 79 to 55  
column 4: change 18 to 45  
column 5: change 2527 to 2554

The above changes were necessary inasmuch as the tabulations for the Resident Agency of Yonkers, which is in Westchester County, was inadvertently left out.

Set out hereinafter is a breakdown showing the gain or loss in each County or Section of the Security Index:

<u>Section</u>	<u>CP Members</u> <u>3/1/57</u>	<u>Number Identified</u> <u>3/1/57 - 5/1/57</u>	<u>Deletions</u>	<u>Net Gain</u> <u>or Loss</u>	<u>CP Members</u> <u>5/1/57</u>
Bronx	394	26	-9	17	411
Brooklyn	510	16	7	9	519
Queens	438	21	4	17	455
Lower Manhattan	240	7	7	0	240
Mid-Manhattan	235	5	1	4	239

2 - BUREAU (100-3-68) RM  
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)

TSM:EMD  
(3)

*gram*

*100-80638-1198*

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
 NY 100-80638

<u>Section</u>	<u>CP Members 3/1/57</u>	<u>Number Identified 3/1/57 - 5/1/57</u>	<u>Deletions</u>	<u>Net Gain or Loss</u>	<u>CP Members 5/1/57</u>
Upper Manhattan	426	9	5	4	430
Westchester	72	1	0	1	73
Nassau	75	0	3	-3	72
Putnam	0	0	0	0	0
Sullivan	4	2	2	0	4
Richmond	6	3	2	1	7
Columbia	0	0	0	0	0
Dutchess	1	0	0	0	1
Greene	1	0	0	0	1
Orange	7	0	0	0	7
Rockland	6	0	1	-1	5
Suffolk	8	2	0	2	10
Ulster	18	0	0	0	18
Verification Pending	31	0	9	-9	22
Special Section	27	1	0	1	28
Unavailable Section	<u>55</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>-6</u>	<u>49</u>
TOTAL	2554	93	56	37	2591

I am fully aware of the importance of this program and will stress the importance of the plans of the NYO as outlined in reNYlet 4/24/57.

MEMBERSHIP COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

As of March 31, 1957

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and Communist Party Districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES & TERRITORIES

Alabama	16	Massachusetts	233	S. Carolina	10
Arizona	25	Michigan	242	S. Dakota	0
Arkansas	0	Minnesota	193	Tennessee	0
California	2,721	Mississippi	0	Texas	36
Colorado	61	Missouri	101	Utah	0
Connecticut	246	Montana	20	Vermont	0
Delaware	14	Nebraska	10	Virginia	24
District of Columbia	119	Nevada	3	Washington	223
Florida	49	New Hampshire	10	W. Virginia	11
Georgia	4	New Jersey	700	Wisconsin	150
Idaho	17	New Mexico	10	Wyoming	0
Illinois	923	New York	8,700		
Indiana	125	N. Carolina	20	<u>Territories</u>	
Iowa	10	N. Dakota	43	Alaska	0
Kansas	2	Ohio	591	Hawaii	11
Kentucky	9	Oklahoma	19	Puerto Rico	31
Louisiana	20	Oregon	50		
Maine	4	Pennsylvania	514		
Maryland	127	Rhode Island	7		
				<b>Total 16,753</b>	

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	150	Houston	15	Cuba	20
Albuquerque	16	Indianapolis	125	Philadelphia	304
Anchorage	0	Kansas City	10	Phoenix	25
Atlanta	4	Knoxville	5	Pittsburgh	131
Baltimore	141	Nicola Road	0	Portland	60
Birmingham	8	Los Angeles	1,001	Richmond	13
Boston	234	Louisville	0	St. Louis	101
Buffalo	150	Memphis	8	Salt Lake City	39
Butte	45	Miami	48	San Antonio	13
Charlotte	29	Milwaukee	150	San Diego	66
Chicago	900	Minneapolis	277	San Francisco	714
Cincinnati	62	Mobile	8	San Juan	31
Cleveland	529	Newark	700	Savannah	2
Dallas	35	New Haven	245	Seattle	328
Denver	61	New Orleans	25	Springfield	15
Detroit	202	New York	8,324	WFO	119
El Paso	3	Norfolk	11		
Honolulu, T.H.	11	Oklahoma City	19	<b>Total 16,753</b>	

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
 SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
 MAY 10 1957  
 FBI - NEW YORK  
 J.W.

100-80638-1199

EXHIBIT

<u>Total</u>		<u>States Included in Districts</u>	
District 1	200	Maine	0
		New Hampshire	10
		Massachusetts	200
		Vermont	0
		Rhode Island	0
District 2	9,700	New York	9,700
District 3	300	East. Pennsylvania	300
		Delaware	0
District 4	300	Maryland	100
		Dist. of Columbia	200
District 5	100	West. Pennsylvania	100
District 6	600	Ohio	600
		Kentucky	0
		Four "Panhandle"	0
		States in U. Virginia	0
District 7	300	Michigan	300
District 8	600	Illinois	600
		Indiana (Lake Co.)	0
District 9	277	Minnesota	200
		N. Dakota	0
		S. Dakota	77
District 10	00	Indiana	00
District 11	00	Oregon	00
District 12	300	Washington	300
		Alaska	0
District 13	8,700	California	8,700
		Arizona	00
		Nevada	0
		Hawaii	00



STATISTICS (cont.)

District 14	700	New Jersey	700
District 15	000	Connecticut	000
District 16	100	Wisconsin	100
District 17	00	Colorado	01
		New Mexico	10
		Oyening	0
		El Paso area of Texas	0
District 18	300	Illinois	201
		Illinois	0
District 19	10	West Virginia (1000 sq four "Pennsylvania" Districts)	10
District 20	00	Texas except El Paso Area	00
District 21	00	Louisiana	00
District 22	00	Florida	00
District 23	00	Virginia	00
District 24	00	Alabama	10
		Mississippi	0
		Tennessee	10
District 25	10	Delaware	10
		Delaware	0
District 26	02	N. Carolina	00
		S. Carolina	0
District 27	00	Montana	00
		Idaho	17
District 28	0	Georgia	0
District 29	00	Nebraska	20
		Kans	10
		Kansas	0
District 30	00	Utah	00

REORGANIZATION

Clinton	0	0
Lawrence	11	11
Florida Area	21	21
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10,733	10,733

This figure is also computed in District 10.  
This figure is also computed in District 10.

NOTE:

Districts Number 10, 17, 30, 31, and 32  
have been previously reorganized and combined with  
other districts.

COMPARATIVE FINISHED MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS BY FIELD DIVISION

	<u>6/30/59</u>	<u>6/30/60</u>	<u>12/31/60</u>	<u>6/30/67</u>
Albany	151	151	173	160
Albuquerque	17	17	16	16
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	7	8	9	4
Baltimore	161	161	201	141
Birmingham	7	7	0	8
Boston	848	858	818	858
Buffalo	100	108	100	100
Butte	59	47	44	45
Charlotte	47	50	36	50
Chicago	610	607	610	600
Cincinnati	79	78	75	69
Cleveland	588	570	580	588
Dallas	35	33	28	35
Denver	65	61	63	61
Detroit	251	257	248	248
El Paso	6	2	0	0
Honolulu, T.H.	13	10	11	11
Houston	35	19	17	15
Indianapolis	152	132	152	152
Kansas City	15	13	10	10
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles	1,087	1,028	1,061	1,001
Louisville	10	9	9	9
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	40	43	43	40
Milwaukee	100	150	150	100
Minneapolis	280	270	274	277
Mobile	0	0	0	0
Newark	781	750	730	780
New Haven	200	200	240	240
New Orleans	31	31	32	30
New York	8,438	8,439	8,306	8,300
Norfolk	13	10	11	11
Oklahoma City	31	31	31	30
Omaha	68	28	31	29
Philadelphia	642	643	643	634
Phoenix	25	35	35	25
Pittsburgh	147	146	131	131
Portland	30	30	30	29
Richmond	13	11	11	13
St. Louis	110	110	110	101
Salt Lake City	33	30	31	33
San Antonio	15	13	11	13

COMBINED ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (cont.)

	<u>6/30/56</u>	<u>9/30/56</u>	<u>12/31/56</u>	<u>3/31/57</u>
San Diego	68	67	68	68
San Francisco	555	533	533	710
San Juan	37	37	31	31
Savannah	4	4	4	3
Seattle	320	320	320	320
Springfield	39	39	32	35
TPO	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>119</u>
TOTAL	17,073	17,502	17,300	16,759

This indicates significant fluctuation in membership.

5/14 *K*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: May 9, 1957

*OPM*

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There are being furnished herewith two copies of a chart showing the estimated Communist Party (CP) membership as of March 31, 1957, by states and territories, field divisions and CP districts, as well as comparative estimated membership figures by field divisions for the past four quarterly periods.

This data is being furnished for the information of the New York Office and should not be incorporated in any reports prepared by your office.

Enclosures (2)

*1 cc (with enc) to  
100-178817 (CP USA - Dist 2 - Membership)*

*100-80638-1200*

SEARCHED <i>h</i>	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED <i>r</i>
MAY 10 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Jos Waters JW*

*Noted 5/14/57  
RCS*

✓

AIRTEL

F B I

Date: 5/15/57

\_\_\_\_\_ SAC  
 \_\_\_\_\_ DIV. 1  
 \_\_\_\_\_ DIV. 2  
 \_\_\_\_\_ DIV. 3  
 \_\_\_\_\_ DIV. 4  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 1  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 2  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 3  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 4

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

To : Director, FBI (100-3-69)(100-3-88)

From: SAC, Detroit (100-2050)(100-17205)

Re : CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

CP, USA, FACTIONALISM  
IS - C

*J. V. Waters*  
*R-1*

100-80638-120  
 SEARCHED  
 SERIALIZED  
 MAY 17 1957  
 FBI - NEW YORK  
*Waters*

\_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 5  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 6  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 7  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 8  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 9  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 10  
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 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 19  
 \_\_\_\_\_ SEC. 20

CINAL. [redacted] who has furnished reliable information

in the past, advised that [redacted] member National Committee, CP, USA, from New Jersey) contacted CARL WINTER, member of National Committee, CP, USA, on the morning of 5/14/57. [redacted] was very much upset and concerned over the factionalism which had developed as a result of the county conventions in New York and indicated that many persons, including persons with left views, were leaving (the Party). [redacted] indicated that county organizers had been put in charge of the (membership) drive but it did not inspire more than a handful of persons at the present time. [redacted] expressed deep concern over the following additional items:

b6  
b7C  
b7D

1. The Negro Question
2. The poor turnout for the funeral for JOHN STEUBEN
3. Dissatisfaction with JOE CLARK on the "Daily Worker" and other items in connection with the paper.

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b7C

[redacted] was of the opinion that a special meeting should be called in order to iron out these many problems. [redacted] also advised WINTER that the dates of the 14th and 15th (June) would be fine with her and STEVE (NELSON, member National Committee, CP, USA) and they might work it out for the entire Midwest, which would indicate [redacted] and STEVE planned a tour, including Detroit.

- 5 - Bureau (AM-REG)
- 1 - Chicago (REG.)  
(61-867 - CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 1 - Minneapolis (REG.)  
(100-6379 - CARL ROSS)
- 1 - New Jersey (REG.)  
(100-2974 - [redacted])
- 6 - Detroit  
(100-13420 - CARL WINTER)  
(100-25197 - CINAL)  
(100-8133 - STEVE NELSON)

- 5 - New York (REG.)  
(100-87221 - CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)  
(100-80641 - CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100-50090 - SID STEIN - #19)  
(100- [redacted] - MEMBERSHIP)  
(100- [redacted] - JOE CLARK)

b6  
b7C

(DE 100- [redacted])

PS:emd  
(10)

DE 100-2050  
DE 100-17205

Later on 5/14/57 [redacted] advised that SID STEIN, member National Committee, CP, USA, contacted WINTER in the same regard as did [redacted] STEIN said that a number of things had happened in New York which made it appear necessary to convene the NEC (National Executive Committee) earlier than they had originally anticipated. STEIN said that the situation in NY has deteriorated beyond anything that they have seen before and is continuing to deteriorate with "the exodus" which was all out of proportion. STEIN explained that in other words there is no official open split but a "defacto." STEIN said that he had taken a count, as much as he could, of the "outfit" in NY and as of now "it is less than half of what it was last year." STEIN indicated also that the NEC meeting would have an opportunity to discuss "this forum" before it became a political football. STEIN stated that the NY State Committee meeting is to be held on the 25th (May) and it would be good to have the NEC meeting possibly on the 22nd and 23rd (May) and possibly some of the persons could stay over for the NY State Committee meeting. STEIN indicated that he would contact CARL (ROSS) and CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), both members of the NEC, and if they were in agreement re the meeting he would send out notices.

b6  
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O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M \* \* \* U N I T E D S T A T E S G O V E R N M E N T

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-2398)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5-22-57

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on May 20, 1957. This information had been obtained in a conversation with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and JAMES ALLEN on that date:

The National Administrative Committee or Resident National Committee held a meeting in the Hotel Statler in New York City during the week of May 12, 1957. This meeting lasted for about ten hours and was called for the purpose of attempting to bring a halt to the fighting among the Party leaders. The result of the meeting was an intensification of this fighting and factionalism.

At this meeting, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER launched into an attack against EUGENE DENNIS. FOSTER said that he understands the position of JOHN GATES and that of FRED FINE, but he does

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)  
10 - New York (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)  
(1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)  
(1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2) (#12-14)  
(1 - 100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN)  
(1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (#19)  
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)  
(1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)  
(1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)  
(1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)  
3 - Chicago  
[redacted]  
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

b7D

JEK: kw  
(15)

100-80638-12/02

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAY 24 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted]

#19



CG 100-2398

not understand the position of EUGENE DENNIS. FOSTER asked DENNIS why DENNIS had not attacked the line of the "Daily Worker" at the meeting of the National Committee on April 27 and 28, 1957.

At this meeting it was planned to discuss the establishment of a leadership in the New York District; however, FOSTER and BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., would not discuss the leadership situation in the New York District. One reason for the trip of FRED FINE to Chicago was to obtain an apartment. Another reason was to convince CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to go to New York City to see if he could bring about some agreement both in regard to national leadership and leadership in the New York District.

JAMES ALLEN stated that Party members who support the "Left wing", as well as those who support the "Right wing", are leaving the Party in New York. ALLEN stated that as a result of county and section elections in the New York District, the extreme Left is a little stronger. ALLEN said that JOHN GATES has threatened to resign if BEN DAVIS or the supporters of the "Left wing" achieve a victory in the selection of the leadership for the New York District.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*[Handwritten initials]*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) (100-3-63) Date: **6/3/57**  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) (100-74560)  
 SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP  
 IS-C  
 CP, USA FUNDS  
 IS-C

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who is in a position to furnish reliable information concerning material maintained at CP National Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NY, NY, on 5/2/57, furnished the following membership and dues statements <sup>from</sup> which approximate National and State membership and dues figures can be determined. The first statement is an 11 months statement dated as of 11/30/56. The second is a 7 months statement as of 7/31/56. Both of these statements are set out in full below:

As of 11/30/56- - - - - 11 months statement

<u>District</u>	<u>1956 Dues Payment</u>	<u>1956 Aver. %</u>	<u>Init.</u>
New York	45,642	47 -	30
New England	716	17	10
E. Pa.	308	6	
W. Pa.	512	39	
Ohio	2,183	34 -	3
Michigan	1,613	36	11

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-68)
- 2 - 100-3-63
- 4 - NY 100-80638
- 1 - NY 100-74560
- 1 - NY 100-128817 (CP District #2 Membership) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128314 (CP District #2 Funds) (#19)

2cc - ALL CONTINENTAL FIELD OFFICES

RAD:mg  
(108)

*[Handwritten initials]*

100-80638-1203

NY 100-80638

<u>District</u>	<u>1956 Dues Payment</u>	<u>1956 Aver. %</u>	<u>Init.</u>
Illinois	4,044	37	9
Minn-Dakota	933	31	
Oregon	431	36	
Washington State	2,008	52	8
New Jersey	3,348	42	11
Connecticut	497	23	
Wisconsin	780	43	5
Colorado	467	35	2
Missouri	35	7	
Indiana	279	34	
Md - D.C.	755	34	
Florida	363 (A)	87	1
Carolina	129 (A)	39	
Tennessee	91	? (B)	
La.	75	? (B)	
Va.	252	92	2
Ala.	274	108	3

NY 100-80638

<u>District</u>	<u>1956 Dues Payment</u>	<u>1956 Aver. %</u>	<u>Init.</u>
Calif.	10,759	34 (C)	25
Texas	124	32	
Georgia	6	18	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	76,624	41	120

(A) All Southern payments and % are higher than actually because of the inclusion of some '55 dues in '56.

(B) No reliable membership figure on which to base calculations.

(C) The dues breakdown thus far received from California is incomplete, in fact, only for 7 months, for which it has a 53% average. "

"(2.) As of 7/31/56 - 7 Months statement (See Note A)

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>'56 Dues Av. %</u>	<u>Init.</u>	<u>'55 Ass'n't Total (Note B)</u>
NY	55% (E)	28	3701
N Eng	11%	7	206
E Pa	9%	0	348
W Pa	46%	0	52
Ohio	28%	0	136 (E)

NY 100-80638

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>'56 Dues Av. %</u>	<u>Init.</u>	<u>'55 Ass'n't Total</u> <u>(Note B)</u>
Mich	50%	7	262
Ill	43%	5	162
Minn	44%	0	147
Ore	0	0	0
Wash	0	0	0
NJ	36%	7	676
Conn	36%	0	32
Wisc	36%	1	110
Colo	20%	1	5
Missouri	10%	0	37
Indiana	31%	0	0
Md-DC	50% (E)	0	46
Fla	74% (D)	0	21
N. Car	34% (D)	0	0
Tenn	- (C)	0	1
La	- (C)	0	0

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<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>'56 Dues Av. %</u>	<u>Init.</u>	<u>'55 Ass'n't Total</u> <u>(Note B)</u>
Va	27% (D)	2	2
Ga	28% (D)	0	0
Ala & So MAL	70% (D)	3	3
Cal	- (E)	- (E)	- (E)
Tex	25% (D)	0	0
Omaha-Neb	- (F)	0	0
Iowa	- (F)	0	0
<u>Totals</u>	<u>40% (A-E)</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>6,180</u>

Notes: (A) Individual District dues av. % is computed on the latest available district reg. info. Since this is not uptodate or final for some districts, the % given in many cases is somewhat higher than actually.

The national dues av. % is computed on an estimated final reg. figure total. This, plus the fact that some funds have been turned in without breakdown, and we have virtually nothing yet from Calif. means that the % in this case is somewhat lower than actually.

(B) This is Oct. 55 ass'ss'm't, cumulative until the next, or Oct. 56 Assm't.

NY 100-80638

- (C) No reliable memb fig for calculation
- (D) Actually is less because of inclusion of 55 dues
- (E) Funds received without break-down not included
- (F) Just reestablished "

Analysis of Above Statements By New York Office

The column headed "Dues Payments" is the sum total of individual dues payments made by CP members in their districts. Each member theoretically makes 12 monthly dues payments a year.

The columns headed "Aver. %" are the percentage of dues payments made as of the date of the statement. This percentage is computed apparently (see Note A on 7 months statement) on an estimated registration figure for 1956.

The columns headed "Init." are probably the number of initiation fees received as of the date of the statement. This indicates the number of new CP members per district.

The column headed "'55 ass'm't Total" on the "7 months statement" is the total number of assessments received in 1955. An assessment is made annually of each CP member.

A membership figure both nationally and by districts can be computed by dividing the "Dues Payments" figure by the "Aver. %" and dividing this

NY 100-80638

result by 11 months. Since no dues payment figures are given in the "7 months statement" membership figures may only be computed from the "11 months statement."

For example, the "11 months statement" lists the total national "Dues Payments" as 76,624. By dividing this figure by the national "Aver. %", 41, the total dues payments that should be received for 1956 is obtained, 186,887. Dividing this figure by 11 months an estimated national membership figure of 16,989 is obtained.

Negatives of the photographs furnished by  are maintained in New York file 100-80641-1B 339. Care should be exercised in the dissemination of this information so as not to compromise the informant.

b7D



O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
DISTRICT #8  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5-29-57

GARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on May 26, 1957:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Cleveland (100- ) (HYMAN LUMER) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-11093) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- )
  - (1 - 100-9529) (EMANUEL BLUM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (100-6379) (CARL ROSS) (REGISTERED)
- 20 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S\*) (#6) (P & C) (Info)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80634) (CP - USA, Farmers Matters) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80640) (CP - USA, Negro Question) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89590) (CP - USA, Strategy in Industry) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81675) (CP - USA, Pamphlets & Publications) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80644) (CP - USA, Youth Matters) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2) (#12-14)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Southern Regional Committee)
  - (1 - 100-131940) (American Forum for Socialist Education)
  - (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#12-8)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-110840) (EARL DURHAM) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19)

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See la page for Chicago copies.

100-80638-1204

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CG 100-18953

37 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)  
(1 - 134-46) (CG 5824-S\*)

[REDACTED]

(1 - 100-644) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-22435) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-24729) (EMANUEL BLUM)

(1 - 100-14098) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)

(1 - 100-18080) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-24020) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-21073) (LESTER DAVIS)

(1 - 100-3301) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-17376) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-4031) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-12459) (FLORA HALL)

(1 - 100-13763) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-21526) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-2515) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)

(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

(1 - 100-15565) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-25908) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-3720) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-13332) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-9948) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-22078) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-20289) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-2749) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100- ) (UNKNOWN SUBJECT, Negro, Male)

(1 - 100-18963) (CP - USA, Factionalism)

(1 - 100-19491) (CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues)

(1 - 100-18954) (CP - USA, Legislative Activities)

(1 - 100-18956) (CP - USA, Negro Question)

(1 - 100-33670) (American Forum for Socialist Education)

*JW*  
JEK:kw  
(64)

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CG 100-18953

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

CG 5824-S\* advised that the first meeting of the new State Committee of the Communist Party of Illinois was held on Saturday, May 25, 1957, at Milda Hall, on South Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Persons in Attendance

CG 5824-S\* advised that the following members of the State Committee were present at this meeting:

[REDACTED]

MORRIS CHILDS

[REDACTED]

LESTER DAVIS

[REDACTED]

FLORA HALL

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SAM KUSHNER

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]

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Also in attendance was a male Negro, who is described as follows:

Height	5'10" or 5'11"
Age	Early 30's
Complexion	Medium

Also present were the following:

[REDACTED] member of the National Committee from Illinois, but not a member of the State Committee of Illinois.

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EMANUEL BLUM and [REDACTED] representing Indiana. BLUM and [REDACTED] were present for the morning session only.

CG 5824-S\* advised that it was announced that thirty persons have been elected thus far to the State Committee, although several were absent from this meeting.

CG 100-18953

[redacted] was the Chairman of the meeting.

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Report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on  
National Committee and National  
Executive Committee Meetings

CG 5824-S\* advised that the first point on the agenda was a report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the first meeting of the new National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, which was held in New York City on April 27 and 28, 1957. Details of this meeting are available to the Bureau, New York and Chicago Offices.

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CG 5824-S\* advised that SAM KUSHNER and [redacted] members of the National Committee, complained that this report should have been sub-divided to permit them to give a portion of the report on the National Committee meeting.

CG 5824-S\* advised that LIGHTFOOT also discussed a meeting of the National Executive Committee which was held in New York City on May 23, 1957.

LIGHTFOOT stated that at the first convention of the Communist Party in Brooklyn, there were 210 persons in attendance. At the second convention or second session of the convention of the Communist Party in Brooklyn, only 82 persons were in attendance.

Wrong  
for  
1-2-52

No JH-11

LIGHTFOOT also stated that the New York District of the Communist Party has lost five thousand to six thousand members during the period prior to and subsequent to the National Convention of the Communist Party - USA. LIGHTFOOT stated that it is estimated that the membership of the New York District is now no more than 3,000 to 3,500. He further stated that nationally the Communist Party has no more than nine thousand to ten thousand members.

LIGHTFOOT further stated that the Communist Party - USA presently has the smallest membership in its recent history. He stated that the membership may be less than at the time of the crisis following LOVESTONE's removal as leader of the Communist Party - USA. LIGHTFOOT also stated that the Communist Party is losing important members of its cadre. He said that fourteen out of seventeen Section Organizers in Brooklyn have quit the Communist Party.

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CG 5824-S\* advised that LIGHTFOOT also said that at the National Executive Committee meeting it was proposed that BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., be elected Chairman, and GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY be elected Executive Secretary of the New York District of the Communist Party.

LIGHTFOOT then stated that the National Executive Committee has established a National Administrative Committee. The National Administrative Committee can solve immediate problems only and cannot set basic policy. The following persons make up this National Administrative Committee:

EUGENE DENNIS, in charge of national affairs;  
HYMAN LUMER, in charge of pamphlets and publications;  
SID STEIN, in charge of the Party organization;  
EARL DURHAM, in charge of youth matters;  
FRED FINE, in charge of trade union matters;  
JAMES JACKSON, in charge of the South;  
CARL ROSS, in charge of farm matters;  
BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., in charge of Negro affairs;  
JOHN GATES, in charge of public relations;  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, ex-officio member of the  
National Administrative Committee.

LIGHTFOOT stated that he had a fight with EUGENE DENNIS, who wanted to be named Secretary of the National Administrative Committee. LIGHTFOOT pointed out that the position of Secretary of the National Administrative Committee would be considered by other Communist Parties to be synonymous with the position of Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, which DENNIS formerly held. LIGHTFOOT stated that due to his opposition, DENNIS was not named the Secretary of the National Administrative Committee.

LIGHTFOOT also stated that the National Executive Committee voted to co-operate with the American Forum for Socialist Education, but voted that there is to be no co-operation between the Communist Party - USA and the Trotskyists. The National Executive Committee also criticized an editorial in the "Daily Worker" dealing with the American Forum for Socialist Education. The "Daily Worker" was condemned for failing to indicate that the American Forum for Socialist Education is not a substitute for the Communist Party.

CG 100-18953

Motions Resulting from the  
Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom

CG 5824-S\* advised that as a result of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, held in Washington, D.C., on May 17, 1957, the State Committee adopted the following motions:

That an attempt be made to assemble representatives to the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom from various block clubs in Chicago. The purpose of this would be to have these persons pass a resolution calling for aldermen to raise the issues involved in the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom before the City Council of Chicago. Another purpose of this gathering would be to memorialize Congress on these issues.

That pressure be placed on the state legislature in Springfield in regard to passage of laws such as FEPC, open occupancy in housing and re-distribution of school districts.

That efforts be made to hold forums on civil rights in organizations composed of white persons.

Other Resolutions Adopted

That the National Office of the Communist Party - USA be asked to submit a study on the finances of the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker", since the Communist Party of Illinois feels that the "Daily Worker" should be abandoned and that only "The Worker" should be retained.

That the Communist Party of Illinois should order five thousand copies of the special "The Worker" supplement dealing with H-Bomb tests.

That the "Party Forum" or a similar Party bulletin should be published in Illinois.

That there should be a conference of Communist Party members working in metal industries in Illinois.

That Indiana should be a separate state organization, even though Lake County, Indiana, has not as yet voted for coordinating activities in the steel industry.

CG 100-18953

Election of the State Board  
and State Leadership

CG 5824-S\* advised that [redacted] made a report as Chairman of a sub-committee selected to make recommendations for the election of a State Board.

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[redacted] stated that the bylaws say that the State Board should consist of not more than thirteen members. The bylaws further provide for the following officers: a State Chairman, a Vice Chairman, an Executive Secretary and a Treasurer. All officers are to be on the State Board except the Treasurer, who will be given a voice but no vote in the State Board.

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It is to be noted that CG 5824-S\* has previously advised that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was elected Chairman, without opposition, at the State Convention. [redacted] has previously been selected as the Chairman of the Finance Committee. At this meeting, SAM KUSHNER was elected as the Vice Chairman, and [redacted] was elected temporarily as the Executive Secretary.

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[redacted] stated that the sub-committee was making the following recommendations for the State Board:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

FLO HALL

[redacted]  
SAM KUSHNER

[redacted]  
Two representatives from the Community Sections who were not named.

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At this point, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a speech in which he stated that he wanted MORRIS CHILDS nominated for membership on the State Board. MORRIS CHILDS was added to the list of nominees.

CG 5824-S\* advised that, on a point of personal privilege, MORRIS CHILDS spoke for about thirty minutes. He charged the Party apparatus with trying to perpetuate itself and said that this is the feeling of the rank and file members. CHILDS further stated that it appeared that political understanding was not taken into consideration by the sub-committee which made these nominations for membership on the State Board.

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CG 5824-S\* advised that other persons were then nominated for membership on the State Board. From the Community Sections, [redacted] were nominated. [redacted] declined the nomination, stating that she does not agree with the current line of the Communist Party - USA. [redacted] also declined the nomination. From the Industrial Sections, [redacted] declined the nomination, stating that he was taking evening courses in school and did not have time to participate on the State Board. [redacted] was nominated and declined the nomination. [redacted] was then nominated and stated that he would accept the nomination since the Parsons Section would not have a representative on the State Board if he did not accept the nomination. [redacted] was also nominated but it was pointed out that he could not be a member of the State Board since he is not a member of the State Committee. Later, SAM KUSHNER stated that he would try to have [redacted] elected to the State Committee from the Foster (Packing) Section, which has not elected its members to the State Committee as yet.

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Persons Elected to the State Board

CG 5824-S\* advised that it was then decided to elect eleven persons instead of thirteen persons to the State Board. The results of the voting showed that the following persons were elected to the State Board:

[redacted]	[redacted]
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
FLORA HALL	SAM KUSHNER
[redacted]	[redacted]

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The results of the election showed that of the nominees, [redacted] and MORRIS CHILDS were defeated. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT received the votes of all present. The lowest vote of those elected was received by [redacted]

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CG 5824-S\* advised that MORRIS CHILDS became ill and left the meeting as soon as the voting was completed.

Motion and Resignation as State  
Chairman by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CG 5824-S\* advised that as soon as the results of the



CG 100-18953

election became known, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a motion that the number of members on the State Board should be increased from eleven to thirteen members and that MORRIS CHILDS should be added to the State Board. LIGHTFOOT stated that it would be inhuman to keep CHILDS off the State Board after all he has done in behalf of the Communist Party. [redacted] was one of the persons opposed to the motion to increase the membership of the State Board from eleven to thirteen. LIGHTFOOT's motion was put to a vote and was defeated, with only three persons voting in favor of the motion. b6 b7C

At this point, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, taking this vote on his motion as a repudiation of his leadership, stated that he was resigning as State Chairman. LIGHTFOOT then walked out of the meeting.

The meeting was then adjourned by SAM KUSHNER.

Comments of CG 5824-S\* on LIGHTFOOT's Resignation as State Chairman

CG 5824-S\* advised that since the State Committee did not accept the resignation of LIGHTFOOT as State Chairman, LIGHTFOOT can and probably will withdraw his resignation. On the other hand, LIGHTFOOT is aware of the maneuvering on the part of SAM KUSHNER and [redacted] particularly, and realizes that they may work against LIGHTFOOT at any time as they did for the defeat of MORRIS CHILDS. Thus, even if LIGHTFOOT withdraws his resignation, there is certain to be a continuing crisis and factionalism within the leadership of the Communist Party of Illinois. b6 b7C

CG 5824-S\* is also of the opinion that KUSHNER and [redacted] [redacted] worked for the defeat of MORRIS CHILDS as a member of the State Board because they looked upon CHILDS as formidable opposition in the struggle for the position of State Chairman in Illinois in the event that LIGHTFOOT's conviction for violation of the Smith Act is upheld by the Supreme Court. b6 b7C

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SAG  
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 SEC. 19  
 SEC. 20

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)      DATE: 6/6/57

FROM : T. SCOTT MILLER, JR., SUPERVISOR #12-0

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY USA  
 MEMBERSHIP  
 NEW YORK DIVISION  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Set out hereinafter the breakdown showing the gain or loss in each county or section of the Security Index for the period May 1-31, 1957.

Geographical	CP Members 5/1/57	Number Identified 5/1-31/57	Deletions	Net Gain-CP or Loss	CP Members 6/1/57
Bronx	411	9	3	6	417
Brooklyn	519	11	4	7	526
Queens	455	12	1	11	466
Lower Manhattan	240	9	1	8	248
Mid Manhattan	239	1	0	1	240
Upper Manhattan	430	8	4	4	434
Westchester	73	1	0	1	74
Nassau	72	0	0	0	72
Putnam	0	0	0	0	0
Sullivan	4	0	0	0	4
Richmond	7	0	0	0	7
Columbia	0	0	0	0	0
Dutchess	1	0	0	0	1
Greene	1	0	0	0	1
Orange	7	0	0	0	7
Rockland	5	0	0	0	5
Suffolk	10	0	0	0	10
Ulster	18	0	0	0	18
Verification Pend.	22	0	0	0	22
Special Section	28	0	0	0	28
Unavailable	49	0	0	0	49
T O T A L S	2591	51	-13	38	2629

1 - ASAC N.H. McCABE  
 1 - 19-0  
 1 - 7-0  
 1 - 12-0

100-80638-1205

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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JUN 6 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

TSM

TSM:ecb

6/10

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 6/3/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-131666)

SUBJECT: CP - USA  
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE  
IS - C

On 5/10/57, NY 1989-S\* furnished photographs of information in the possession of [redacted] at her residence at [redacted] Street, New York, NY. The original negatives of these photographs are being made exhibit 1B4(1).

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Among the information furnished by this source were photographs of material maintained in a manila envelope which was apparently secreted by [redacted] between the linens of one of the beds in her apartment. It is apparent from the location of this material that a great

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- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- (1 - 100-3-68) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Birmingham (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Dallas (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Houston (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Little Rock (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Miami (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Mobile (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Newark (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - New Orleans (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Norfolk (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Richmond (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - San Antonio (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Savannah (Encl. 1) (RM)
- ① - New York (100-80538) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-81338) (CP - SECURITY MEASURES) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-100351) [redacted] (#19)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - New York (100-88980) [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-131666)

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HPQ:am  
(51)

*JJK*

100-80638-1204

SEARCHED <i>h</i>	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>h</i>	FILED <i>h</i>
<b>9 JUN 5 1957</b>	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*J. V. Waters*

NY 100-131666

deal of importance was attached to it by [ ]

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Among the information contained within the envelope were 1) six page letter from [ ] in Miami to [ ] in NY which was apparently delivered by personal courier containing, [ ] instructions on how to make out the expense and income records for the Southern Regional Committee (SRC); (2) expense and income records for the SRC for January, 1957, as apparently made out by [ ] (3) a sealed envelope containing two CP transfers from New York to Miami, Florida; (4) a letter to JAMES JACKSON at CP Headquarters from an unsub complaining about the status of leadership of the CP in Florida; and (5) an envelope containing a series of small envelopes which were marked with the initials of various southern states and which apparently contained the methods by which a visiting CP functionary or courier from New York can contact the state CP functionaries in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, Texas and Louisiana.

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Also contained in this latter envelope which was marked "Transfer (Pending Trip)" were two CP transfers from New Jersey (farm) to Georgia and what appeared to be one or two transfers to Arkansas with the name and the address of a CP contact in Little Rock, Arkansas. The last items contained in the latter envelope were the halves of four \$1.00 bills, some of which contained initials or markings and which are probably used in connection with the visits of out of town CP functionaries or couriers to the Southern states for identification purposes.

A review of the material under (3) and (5) reveals the following information:

The sealed envelope marked "Transfers" which contained what appeared to be two CP transfers from

NY 100-131666

New York to Miami are of two kinds, one is a transfer for a Mrs. [redacted] apparently from the Kingsbridge Section in the Bronx and reflecting that she has paid her CP dues through September, 1956 and had contributed \$55.00 to the CP fund drive. The transfer was dated November 17, 1956. This transfer is what is termed the three section type; that is, one section on one side has been torn off indicating the date and section from which transferred and it is retained by the section from which the subject is transferred. The other two sections are sent to the area or section to which the subject is transferred. The new section returns the other small section on the right of the transfer which in this case indicates just the date and the section from which transferred.

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The other transfer is for one [redacted] from the New York City Garment Section which reflects that he has possibly been in the CP for 25 years or more. [redacted] apparently resides at [redacted] Street, Miami Beach, Florida. On the rear of the slip of paper containing this information is the fact that [redacted] wife is [redacted] mother. It is believed that [redacted] referred to is the wife of [redacted] former Negro New York State CP functionary. Copies of this particular material are being made enclosures to the Bureau and Miami as well as attachments to the particular NYO files.

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Regarding the information contained in the other above described envelope marked "Transfer (Pending Trips)" it is noted as related above that the envelope contained what appeared to be two transfers from New Jersey (farm) to Georgia. These transfers are apparently for [redacted] who are presently residing in Albany, Georgia. This particular type of transfer contains a brief resume of the [redacted]

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NY 100-131666

past record in the CP as well as what appeared to be a series of security checks made by the SRC regarding the [redacted]. From the writing on the rear of the [redacted] transfer, it is apparent that the SRC has attempted to work out somekind of a code for the purpose of contacting the [redacted].

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The other transfer to Arkansas appeared to be for one [redacted] and possibly [redacted]. It appears that the [redacted] possibly are transfers from California (Harbor Division) and are presently residing near Yellville, Arkansas. The transfer also reflects that they have paid their CP dues until June and April, respectively.

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The second piece of paper connected with this transfer reflects that a [redacted] Little Rock, who has received mail under the name of [redacted] is apparently a CP contact in Little Rock. The writing on the rear of this piece of paper indicates that [redacted] is probably not a CP transfer but is "friendly." It is noted that on this piece of paper appears the notation [redacted] which is the code name used by [redacted] CP Florida State organizer and who, it would also appear, has possibly made contacts in the past in Arkansas.

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As a matter of interest, it is noted that in Bulet dated 5/9/57, captioned, "CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP; IS - C," which letter contained the estimated CP memberships by state and division, indicates that the Little Rock Office has reported that as of 3/31/57, the estimated CP membership in Arkansas was zero.

Full analysis of the remaining section of the photographs which are of information contained in smaller envelopes described above will not be made at this time. It is requested that this analysis be made by the office receiving copies of the information.

NY 100-131666

However, the following observations are being made:

1. That the contacts and names and addresses for Texas were not contained in a marked envelope as the other states but were in a small piece of notebook paper marked "Tex" which was folded like an envelope and held together by a paper clip;

2. That the envelope indicating the contacts in Georgia contains two names and addresses, one in Augusta, Georgia, and the other in Atlanta, Georgia. It is noted that on this envelope marked, Georgia, appears the note "Ask J. J." It is believed that J. J. possibly stands for JAMES JACKSON, currently in charge of the CP in the South and member of the CP National Executive Committee.

It is also noted that in Savannah letter to the Director, dated 4/26/57, entitled, "CP, USA - ORGANIZATION; IS - C," it was estimated by the Atlanta Office that there were three CP members residing within the territory covered by Atlanta and that the Savannah Office was unable to determine the identities or the activities of any CP members within its division or that of Atlanta.

In the above captioned Bureau letter dated 5/9/57, which estimated CP membership, it is noted that the figure of four CP members was estimated for the State of Georgia. With the names and address of the two CP transfers from New Jersey as related above, in addition to the two CP contacts in Augusta and Atlanta, it is believed that the identities of the CP members in the State of Georgia are now known.

3. Regarding the contact in Florida, it is noted that among the codes furnished for a visiting functionary in Miami, is one in which they are to go

NY 100-131666

to a boarding house on 223 North East 29th Street, Miami, where they are to "ask for a room - one painted blue." It is noted that this source has furnished information contained in correspondence between [redacted] [redacted] advising that when [redacted] got to the address furnished by [redacted] as a contact, [redacted] she was to ask for the room painted blue.

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4. Regarding the contact in Virginia, it is noted that although no name appears other than [redacted] [redacted], the name, [redacted] on the back of the piece of paper indicates that the contact is possibly [redacted]

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5. Regarding the envelope marked "Old Man," it is not known to whom this refers; however, the contacts and address indicate that the State of South Carolina is involved. It is possibly that the "Old Man" refers to [redacted] or possibly [redacted] who is sometimes referred to by CP members as acting too old for his age.

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The material described on Page 2, Paragraph 1 under (1), (2) and (4) are being disseminated under separate communications.



OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
DISTRICT #8  
ORGANIZATION.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 6/13/57

~~CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 9803 on 6-7-79  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2. 2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-7-89~~

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS INFORMANT.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on May 29, 1957, orally furnished the following information to SA [redacted]

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Meeting of Illinois State Committee

[redacted] advised that the first meeting of the new Illinois Communist Party (CP) State Committee was held on Saturday, May 25, 1957, in the basement meeting room of Milda Hall, South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois.

b7D

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

3 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)  
1-100-11093 (CP-USA, Organization)  
1-100-[redacted]  
1-100-9529 (EMANUEL BLUM)

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1 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)  
1-100-6379 (CARL ROSS)

- ①7 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - 1-100-80641 (CP-USA, Organization) (#19)
  - ① 1-100-80638 (CP-USA, Membership) (#19)
  - 1-100-80634 (CP-USA, Farmer's Matters) (#19)
  - 1-100-80640 (CP-USA, Negro Question) (#19)
  - 1-100-89590 (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry) (#19)
  - 1-100-81675 (CP-USA, Pamphlets and Publications) (#19)
  - 1-100-50806 (GEORGE CHARNEY) (#12-8)
  - 1-100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
  - 1-100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)

100-80638-1207

Waters

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 17 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	
Waters	
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Copies Continued on Page 1A

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1-100-110840 (EARL DURHAM)(#19)  
1-100-89816 (FRED FINE)(#19)  
1-100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(#19)  
1-100-17923 (JOHN GATES)(#19)  
1-100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)(#19)  
1-100- (JACK STACHEL)  
1-100-50090 (SID STEIN)(#19)  
1-100-131940 (American Forum For Socialist Education)

48 - Chicago

[REDACTED]  
1-134-46 (CG 5824-S\*)

[REDACTED]  
1-100-644 [REDACTED]  
1-100-22435 [REDACTED]  
1-100-24729 (EMANUEL BLUM)  
1-100-14098 [REDACTED]  
1-100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)  
1-100-18080 [REDACTED]  
1-100-24020 [REDACTED]  
1-100-3301 [REDACTED]  
1-100-18001 (FRED FINE)  
1-100-17376 [REDACTED]  
1-100-4031 [REDACTED]  
1-100-12459 (FLO HALL)  
1-100-13763 [REDACTED]  
1-100-21526 [REDACTED]  
1-100-2515 [REDACTED]  
1-100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)  
1-61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
1-100-21849 [REDACTED]  
1-100-15565 [REDACTED]  
1-100-25908 [REDACTED]  
1-100-13165 [REDACTED]  
1-100-3720 [REDACTED]  
1-100-13332 [REDACTED]  
1-100-9948 [REDACTED]  
1-100-22078 [REDACTED]  
1-100-20289 [REDACTED]  
1-100-2749 [REDACTED]  
1-100-33670 (American Forum For Socialist Organization)  
1-100-22011 (Flynn Division)

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CG 100-18953

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C

1-100-21073<sup>3</sup> (LESTER DAVIS)  
1-100-18457 [REDACTED]  
1-100-18952 (CP, USA - Membership)  
1-100-18963 (CP, USA - Factionalism)  
1-100-18954 (CP, USA - Legislative Activities)  
1-100-19431 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)  
1-100-18956 (CP, USA - Negro Question)  
1-100-18957 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)  
1-100-18209 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)  
1-100-17965 (CP, USA - Brief)  
1-100-7480 ("Daily Worker")  
1-100-22014 (Foster Division)  
1-100-8261 (COMINFIL, NAACP)  
1-100-32566 (March on Washington)  
1-100-25191 (Illinois Committee for Freedom of the Press)

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(72)

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CG 100-18953

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Attendance

[redacted] advised that the following members of the Illinois State Committee were in attendance during this meeting:

[redacted]  
MORRIS CHILDS

[redacted]  
LESTER DAVIS

[redacted]  
FLO HALL

[redacted]

[redacted]

SAM KUSHNER  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[redacted]

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In addition to the above named individuals, [redacted] member of the CP National Committee from Illinois, but not a member of the Illinois CP State Committee, was present.

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[redacted] and EMANUEL BLUM, CP Functionaries from Indiana, were also present but did not participate in the voting and departed after the morning session.

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Agenda

[redacted] advised that the agenda was announced as follows:

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1. Report on the National Committee Meeting.
2. Miscellaneous Motions.
3. Election of the Illinois CP Board.
4. Motions and Resolutions from Illinois State Convention.

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It was reported that twenty-five of the thirty elected Committee Members were present, however, it was later noted that [redacted] was not a member of the State Committee and should not have been in attendance. SAM KUSHNER remarked that he would attempt to have [redacted] elected to the State Committee from the Foster Section of the Chicago CP, inasmuch as [redacted] being a member of the CP National Committee, should certainly be on the Illinois State Committee.

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[redacted] advised that among those Committee Members absent were:

FRED FINE  
[redacted]

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[redacted] was appointed Chairman of this meeting.

Report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[redacted] advised that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT delivered a report regarding the first meeting of the new CP National Committee, which had recently met in New York City. LIGHTFOOT described this meeting as follows:

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The meeting was opened by BEN DAVIS, JR., who discussed the Washington Pilgrimage sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which was scheduled to be held on May 17, 1957. DAVIS said one of the needs of the NAACP in its struggle for justice is the gaining of white allies. DAVIS pointed out that the current program of the NAACP is use of the "Gandhi" or pacifist approach. DAVIS said that the emergence of Negro leadership in the South is one of the dominant factors in the Negro struggle. He said that the NAACP must emphasize the Negro's right to vote. DAVIS said that all CP members should be encouraged to participate in the NAACP's pilgrimage to Washington.

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LIGHTFOOT said that the March on Washington was the broadest, most united Negro forum ever held in this country. CP participation was looked upon as an energizing factor. The Party played no active part in the program, but merely encouraged Party members to attend.

LIGHTFOOT stated that JACK STACHEL presented a report on the Party Press which will appear in the June, 1957, issue of "Political Affairs." LIGHTFOOT summarized STACHEL's report.

C STACHEL said at the beginning of his report that he recommended saving the "Daily Worker." He said that the "Daily Worker" had placed too much emphasis on tactics rather than strategy. STACHEL said that he had analyzed the "Daily Worker" over a period of forty-two consecutive issues. STACHEL said his analysis reflected that the "Daily Worker" had for the most part supported the views held by the National Committee. He said that the paper cannot hope to compete with the Metropolitan Press as some Comrades had suggested. STACHEL said that he did not at this time recommend any administrative action in regard to the staff of the "Daily Worker."

LIGHTFOOT said that the National Committee decided to study all aspects of the operation of the "Daily Worker," but voted for no immediate changes. JOHN GATES considered STACHEL's report and the National Committee action to be a vote of confidence for him. LIGHTFOOT said that regardless of the discussion on the "Daily Worker," the paper may fold anyway because of lack of finances.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] at this time presented a motion calling for the National Committee to study the entire economic picture of the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker." It was the view of [redacted] that the "Daily Worker" be abandoned.

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[redacted] advised that LIGHTFOOT also reported on the election of a National Executive Committee composed of two members from the West Coast, eight members from the Midwest and Eastern areas, and ten members from New York.

C LIGHTFOOT reported on a meeting of the National Executive Committee in New York. He commented on the extensive drop in CP membership throughout the country. He said that the estimated membership in New York is now three thousand, which is a drop of at least five thousand during the past year. LIGHTFOOT said that the CP nationally numbers no more than ten thousand members and this number is dropping everyday. He said that whole divisions in New York have quit the Party and in one case fourteen out of seventeen organizers in Brooklyn quit. LIGHTFOOT commented that this was partially the result of the serious split in the Party.

LIGHTFOOT also reported on the leadership in New York stating that the New York State Committee had at first been unable to arrive at a solution. It was finally proposed and approved that BEN DAVIS, JR., would become the Chairman and GEORGE CHARNEY, the Executive Secretary of the New York CP.

[redacted] advised that LIGHTFOOT reported on the establishment of a National Staff by the National Executive Committee, which is as follows:

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EUGENE DENNIS - In Charge of National Affairs  
SID STEIN - In Charge of Party Organization  
FRED FINE - In Charge of Trade Union Matters  
HY LUMER - In Charge of Education and Publications  
EARL DURHAM - In Charge of Youth Matters  
JAMES JACKSON - In Charge of South

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CARL ROSS - In Charge of Farm Matters

BEN DAVIS - In Charge of Negro Affairs

JOHN GATES - In Charge of Public Relations

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER - Ex-Officio Member

LIGHTFOOT reported that a Secretariat composed of DENNIS, DAVIS, FINE, and STEIN had been established, but did not indicate whether this was a present or past body.

C LIGHTFOOT then reported that a discussion arose in the National Executive Committee meeting on the various Socialist Forums. He said that an article in "Political Affairs" will set forth the Party's attitude toward these forums. The Party will agree to cooperate with the forums but they are not a substitute for the Party nor will the Party give them an endorsement. It was also pointed out that the Party has no intention of developing any kind of united relations with the Trotskyites.

Discussion on LIGHTFOOT's Report

[redacted] advised that discussion and comments then followed LIGHTFOOT's report.

[redacted] said that he was definitely a supporter of the "Left." He advocated the forming of a tight Marxist organization and ejecting the "Right" wing from the Party.

[redacted] commented that what the Party needs is more ideological forums both before the public and in writing.

[redacted] commented that she felt that the National Convention compromised on principle. She didn't care whether the Party split or not as long as it began some constructive work.

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[redacted] said she thought that JOHN GATES should be kicked out of the Party. She felt that STACHEL's report on the "Daily Worker" had been a masterful analysis but that he had been too kind to JOHN GATES.

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MORRIS CHILDS stated, "Let's quit all this discussion and get to work."

[redacted] said he thought there had been good coverage of the NAACP's pilgrimage to Washington in the "Daily Worker" but not enough of an ideological approach and there had been no analysis of the political development of the Negro.

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EMANUEL BLUM said that the Party must play the vanguard role and provide practical solutions to solving the Negro problems. The Party should be in the forefront of the Negro struggles intermingling Marxist theory.

[redacted] made an analysis of the work in the "old days" and said we need a more ideological approach which we have drifted away from but must return to.

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Motions Adopted:

[redacted] advised that a motion was submitted and adopted that the State Committee should follow through on the NAACP pilgrimage by encouraging the CP delegates from the various areas to get together and discuss follow-up-activities. Included among these activities would be to continue to put pressure on the Illinois State Legislature for passage of FEPC laws, an open occupancy bill relating to desegregation in neighborhoods, and for school redistricting. In addition, forums should be set up in neighborhoods covering civil rights problems.

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A motion was adopted calling for the National Committee to study the entire financial structure of both the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" and the desirability of the "Daily Worker's" continuance.

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The State Committee agreed to buy five thousand copies of "The Worker" supplement on the H-bomb.

A motion was adopted calling for a national discussion and a publication dealing with ideological questions.

A motion was submitted by the Flynn Division calling for a discussion on the metals industry with members of the State Committee for the purpose of discussing differences. In addition, the Flynn Division also called for a discussion on industrial work.

SAM KUSHNER stated that plans for these discussions have already been arranged.

C Status of Indiana

[redacted] advised that the State Committee then recommended setting up Indiana as a separate state organization. The only question remaining was the status of the members in the Steel Industry in Gary. Since there had always been a close connection between the members in South Chicago and those in Gary steel plants, it was being left to the Gary members whether they wanted to belong to the Indiana State organization. A committee of SAM KUSHNER and EMANUEL BLUM were appointed to discuss this question with the members in Gary.

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[redacted] advised that EMANUEL BLUM and [redacted] both left the meeting after this discussion. It is the opinion of [redacted] that EMANUEL BLUM will probably prevail upon the Gary members to join the Indiana State organization.

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Election of Illinois State Board

[redacted] advised that [redacted] then presented a report as Chairman of the subcommittee that had prepared recommendations on leadership. The members of this subcommittee were: CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, SAM KUSHNER, [redacted], and one other individual, who informant could not recall.

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CG 100-18953

[redacted] said that the subcommittee had discussed the number of persons who should be members of the State Board. The bylaws called for no more than thirteen members. The subcommittee felt that thirteen was too many and was recommending either nine or eleven members. In addition, the bylaws called for a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Treasurer. All but the last position would be among the nine or eleven members on the State Board.

[redacted] advised that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had previously been elected as State Chairman at the Illinois State Convention. [redacted] had previously been appointed Treasurer. At this committee meeting, SAM KUSHNER was elected Vice-Chairman and [redacted] was elected as temporary Executive Secretary.

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT requested that an additional position of Vice-Chairman be created and left open at this time. LIGHTFOOT mentioned that there is a possibility that a leading Negro comrade from New York may come to Chicago in the fall, who he feels would fill this post of Vice-Chairman. [redacted] advised that LIGHTFOOT was referring to EARL DURHAM who may return to Chicago in September.

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] requested that her appointment as Executive Secretary be only temporary. This was agreed to and the date of separation will be set by the State Board.

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[redacted] advised that there was also discussion concerning Department Chairman, and it was decided that these positions would be filled by the State Board.

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[redacted] advised that there was considerable discussion concerning the number of individuals to be placed on the board. It was agreed that thirteen would make too large a board and it was decided that nine would be an insufficient number. It was, therefore, decided that the board should have eleven members. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, [redacted] and SAM KUSHNER were automatically members of the board, however, were placed on the slate of candidates to be elected.

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CG 100-18953

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[redacted] then stated that the following recommendations were made by the subcommittee for membership on the State Board:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[redacted]  
SAM KUSHNER

[redacted]  
FLO HALL  
[redacted]

Following the recommendations by the subcommittee, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT spoke stating that he wanted MORRIS CHILDS on the State Board and nominated him for this position. CHILDS was then listed as one of the nominees.

At this point MORRIS CHILDS delivered a speech concerning past activities of the Illinois Party. [redacted] advised that this speech by CHILDS was critical of Illinois leadership and appeared to alienate some of the committee members.

[redacted] advised that other individuals were then nominated for the State Board, and included [redacted]

[redacted]  
declined their nominations.

The following was the vote received by each of the nominees for the State Board, with the highest eleven being elected:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, 25  
[redacted] 25

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CG 100-18953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]	23	
SAM KUSHNER,	23	
[redacted]	22	
[redacted]	22	
[redacted]	21	
[redacted]		20
[redacted]		20
FLO HALL,	17	
[redacted]		17
[redacted]		16
MORRIS CHILDS,	14	

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[redacted] advised that MORRIS CHILDS following completion of the vote, complained of heart pains and left the meeting at this time.

Other Motions and Resolutions

A motion was made and passed that a youth conference be convened on June 23, 1957, in Chicago. A subcommittee of [redacted], FLO HALL, and [redacted] was appointed to make arrangements for this affair.

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It was mentioned that there would be a press conference on June 7, 1957. A subcommittee of [redacted] [redacted] was appointed to prepare for this meeting and to prepare a resolution on press matters to be submitted at the next State Committee meeting.

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Motion by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CG 6066-S advised that at this time CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made an emotional speech presenting a motion that the District Board be enlarged to thirteen members and include MORRIS CHILDS and [redacted] LIGHTFOOT said that he wanted both CHILDS and [redacted] on the Board. Informant advised that LIGHTFOOT was extremely agitated that CHILDS was not elected a member of the Board and was actually weeping during his speech.

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CG 100-18953

[redacted] advised that [redacted] and SAM KUSHNER spoke against the motion.

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LESTER DAVIS and [redacted] spoke in support of the motion.

A vote was then taken on LIGHTFOOT's motion which was defeated with only three votes in favor of it.

LIGHTFOOT then stated, according to [redacted] "You have made your decision and I have made mine, I resign as Chairman of the District and I'm through with the Party."

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[redacted] advised that the committee did not take any action on this statement by LIGHTFOOT and SAM KUSHNER then adjourned the meeting, stating that the next committee meeting would be held in six to eight weeks.

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[redacted] advised that LIGHTFOOT was very upset by the results of the Board election and the defeat of his motion and he and LESTER DAVIS left the meeting together for the stated purpose of going to the residence of MORRIS CHILDS.

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#### Evaluation

[redacted] advised that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT suffered a political defeat in the election of the Illinois Board. The present composition of the State Board appears to be under the control of SAM KUSHNER and [redacted]. It is the opinion of [redacted] that the identity of individuals on the State Board was decided by [redacted] and KUSHNER before the actual election took place. KUSHNER and [redacted] appear to be in control of the CP of Illinois since the members of the State Committee are following their direction. This was demonstrated by the defeat suffered by LIGHTFOOT in his motion to increase the State Board from eleven to thirteen. The standing of LIGHTFOOT on a national level and his prestige among the rank and file members in Illinois cannot be overlooked, however in the struggle for control presently being waged in the Illinois Party.

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CG 100-18953

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C [ ] on June 3, 1957, advised that LIGHTFOOT's resignation was not accepted by the State Committee and LIGHTFOOT has said he will continue to function as State Chairman but his relations with and respect for other Illinois functionaries will never again be the same.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 10-14-2011

- 13 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI (100-3-69)

6/18/57

SAC, Atlanta (100-5688 and 100-5525)

CP - USA  
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE  
IS - C  
AT 100-5688

WILLIAM MORRIS FRIED, was.  
SM - C  
AT 100-5525

By letter dated 5/3/57 New York made available a Photostat of data made available by NY 1009-S\* on 5/10/57.

Included as enclosure to this letter for Atlanta was a Photostat of an envelope marked "Transfer (Pending Trip)" which contained a letter dated 1/16/56 from the organizational Secretary of N.J. It was indicated therein that [redacted] [redacted] Madison Springs, Albany, Ga., moved away from N. J. and had paid dues through March 1955. The [redacted] were formerly a part of the "Farm Section of New Jersey."

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A review of the Atlanta files reflects that subject [redacted] was the subject of investigation at Atlanta from August 1955 until January 1957 at which time the office of origin was transferred to Miami.

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The wife of [redacted] was never the subject of investigation in the Atlanta territory.

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Enclosed for the Miami Office is Photostat of letter of transfer for LENNY and BILL FRIED as they now reside in Miami territory.

- 2-Bureau (100-3-69)RM
  - 2-New York (100-131636) - CP USA SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE RM
  - (100-80638) - CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP RM
  - 1-Miami (100-13730) (encl. 1) RM
  - 1-Newark (100-40576) RM
  - 2-Atlanta (100-5688 and 100-5525)
- APW/enn  
(10)

100-80638-1208

*[Handwritten signature]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

80638



OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) DATE: 6/19/57  
*JAM*

FROM : NORMAN H. MC CABE, ASAC, DIV. IV

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The NYO is in receipt of Bulet dated 6/11/57, in captioned matter, which is as follows:

"The Bureau has reviewed the progress your office has made in the matter of identifying Communist Party (CP) members in the New York area during the past nine months. It appears that your success to date has been almost negligible and unless a vast improvement is made in past performance your efforts will fall far short of the ultimate goal of completely identifying all CP members in your territory by September 1, 1957.

"Since the inception of this program on September 1, 1956, and through May 1, 1957, approximately 330 individuals have been identified as current active communists, an average of 36.6 members identified per month. The total CP members identified as of May 1, 1957, according to your letter of May 10, 1957, was 2,591 while the estimated CP membership in New York as of March 31, 1957, was 8,394. The difference, 5,803, requires an average of 1,934 identifications per month for the next three months. There is nothing to indicate in the previous nine months of investigation conducted by your office that the next three months will bring your goal within reach.

"The necessity and reasonableness of this program is self-evident. If we are to fulfill our responsibilities in the internal security field, we must be aware of the identities of these individuals. We cannot afford to prolong completion of this fundamental step in our over-all knowledge of CP activities. Everything that has been done since the beginning of the program has been a step in the right direction but hardly worthy of classifying as an over-all accomplishment.

1 - Supervisors, #7-0 #12-0 #12-14  
#7-1 #12-10 #12-15  
#7-2 #12-11 #12-16  
#7-4 #12-12 #19-0  
#7-6 #12-13 #19-1  
#19-2

TSM:EMD  
(17)

*100-80638-1209*

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 20 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*JAM*

MEMO:  
NY 100-80638

"It is believed necessary at this time for you to re-examine your status and realign your sights in view of the statistics set forth above. You are instructed to thoroughly review, analyze and re-evaluate your Membership Identification Program at this time. Furnish the results to reach the Bureau within ten days after receipt of this letter. Include any new steps that will be taken to accelerate the completion of the program. In addition, you should hereafter submit your progress letter by the tenth of each month rather than bimonthly. You should also include hereafter, if readily available, the number of individuals who have been tentatively identified as communists by reason of their recent activities but who still lack established proof of CP membership and, therefore, have not been included in your progress letters.

"The results obtained through this program to date leave no doubt that improvement is needed. The Bureau expects you to provide the leadership and enthusiasm necessary to insure its success."

Each Supervisor will note that hereafter the NYO must submit a letter on the progress made in the identification of CP members by the 10th of each month rather than bimonthly.

We will continue to utilize the growth of the Security Index as our progress in identifying CP members. However, the Bureau also wants in these letters, if readily available, the number of individuals who have been tentatively identified as Communists by reason of their recent activities but who still lack established proof of CP membership and, therefore, have not been included in the NYO'S progress letters. The individuals falling in this category are those individuals whom we have identified at meetings which are, withoutdoubt in our minds, CP meetings because of other individuals in attendance, etc., but which cannot be unqualifiedly documented as CP meetings. As the Supervisors are aware, we have identified a number of such individuals since the program commenced on 9/1/56. It is, therefore, requested that you examine what records you have and possibly poll your Agents to determine the number of such individuals who have come to your attention since 9/1/56. These figures should be given to T. S. MILLER by 7/8/57 for inclusion in the letter due 7/10/57.

MEMO:  
100-80638

In addition to the above, I desire that you furnish Supervisor MILLER by 7/8/57 with the number of subjects on each Desk who can be recommended for the Security Index through the submission of a summary or investigative report. Supervisor MILLER will handle the number of individuals included in the Security Index during each month and will be responsible for the submission of the letter each month advising the Bureau of our progress.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of the Membership Identification Program as evidenced by the quoted Bulet. It will be incumbent upon all responsible Supervisors to drive home the importance of this program to the Agents under their supervision that we must identify all the CP members in the New York Division.

6/18/57

Air-Tel

Registered Mail

- \_\_\_ SAC
- \_\_\_ DIV. 1
- \_\_\_ DIV. 2
- \_\_\_ DIV. 3
- \_\_\_ DIV. 4
- \_\_\_ SEC. 1
- \_\_\_ SEC. 2
- \_\_\_ SEC. 3
- \_\_\_ SEC. 4
- \_\_\_ SEC. 5
- \_\_\_ SEC. 6
- \_\_\_ SEC. 7
- \_\_\_ SEC. 8
- \_\_\_ SEC. 9
- \_\_\_ SEC. 10
- \_\_\_ SEC. 11
- \_\_\_ SEC. 12
- \_\_\_ SEC. 13
- \_\_\_ SEC. 14
- \_\_\_ SEC. 15
- \_\_\_ SEC. 16
- \_\_\_ SEC. 17
- \_\_\_ SEC. 18

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)  
 FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-32203)  
 CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP  
 IS - C

C I N A L

On 6/18/57, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA B. PERKOWSKI, Jr., concerning a meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), held 6/17/57, at 1345 West Susquehanna Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Informant reported that [redacted] gave the main report. He said that the CPEPD now has 324 members. According to [redacted] the membership continues to decline. He said that several people have told him that they want to get out of the CP. He said that these Party members feel that Socialism for the U.S. is inevitable, and there is no longer any need for a CP to bring it about. [redacted] cited the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on 6/17/57 in the California Smith Act case, and said, in his opinion, this decision will strengthen the feeling of the Party members who believe that the liberals will bring about Socialism without the need of a CP.

[redacted] said that this kind of thinking could lead to wrong conclusions. He urged that the CP take steps to combat this tendency.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
- ① - New York (RM) (info)
- 3 - Philadelphia
- 1 - 100-32203

1 - 100-42205 Sub A (CIVAL, LIBRARY)

CEC:jag  
(7)

100-80638-1210

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 17 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Waters JW*

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PH 100-32208

Informant reported that the Administrative Committee approved a proposal that a special report on this subject be given at the next meeting of the District Committee, CEEFD, on June 21, 1957.

CEEFD.  is Organizational Secretary of the

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HENNRICH

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*See up [unclear]*  
DATE: June 14, 1957  
*RA*

TO : SAC, New York (100-80638)

✓ FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

PERSONAL ATTENTION

SEP 10  
SEP 11  
SEP 12-0  
SEP 13  
SEP 14  
SEP 15  
SEP 16  
SEP 17  
SEP 18  
SEP 19  
SEP 20

The Bureau has reviewed the progress your office has made in the matter of identifying Communist Party (CP) members in the New York area during the past nine months. It appears that your success to date has been almost negligible and unless a vast improvement is made in past performance your efforts will fall far short of the ultimate goal of completely identifying all CP members in your territory by September 1, 1957.

Since the inception of this program on September 1, 1956, and through May 1, 1957, approximately 330 individuals have been identified as current active communists, an average of 36.6 members identified per month. The total CP members identified as of May 1, 1957, according to your letter of May 10, 1957, was 2,591 while the estimated CP membership in New York as of March 31, 1957, was 8,394. The difference, 5,803, requires an average of 1,934 identifications per month for the next three months. There is nothing to indicate in the previous nine months of investigation conducted by your office that the next three months will bring your goal within reach.

The necessity and reasonableness of this program is self-evident. If we are to fulfill our responsibilities in the internal security field, we must be aware of the identifies of these individuals. We cannot afford to prolong completion of this fundamental step in our over-all knowledge of CP activities. Everything that has been done since the beginning of the program has been a step in the right direction but hardly worthy of classifying as an over-all accomplishment.

*reply in  
100-108817  
100-80638-1211*

100-80638-1211

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 14 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*RB*

Letter to SAC, New York  
Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
100-3-68

It is believed necessary at this time for you to re-examine your status and realign your sights in view of the statistics set forth above. You are instructed to thoroughly review, analyze and re-evaluate your Membership Identification Program at this time. Furnish the results to reach the Bureau within ten days after receipt of this letter. Include any new steps that will be taken to accelerate the completion of the program. In addition, you should hereafter submit your progress letter by the tenth of each month rather than bimonthly. You should also include hereafter, if readily available, the number of individuals who have been tentatively identified as communists by reason of their recent activities but who still lack established proof of CP membership and, therefore, have not been included in your progress letters. 4

The results obtained through this program to date leave no doubt that improvement is needed. The Bureau expects you to provide the leadership and enthusiasm necessary to insure its success.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*ndb*  
*6/21/57*  
*12-10*  
*12-11*  
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*12-13*  
*12-14*  
*12-15*  
*12-16*

Rebulet 6/11/57, pointing out the Bureau's review of the progress of the NYO in identifying Communists, and New York letters 4/24/57 and 2/20/57, both of which deal with the plans of the NYO in identifying all of the CP members in the New York area.

Rebulet points out that since 9/1/56 the NYO has identified approximately 330 individuals as current active Communists for an average of 36.6 members identified per month between the period 9/1/56 through 5/1/57. It is desired to point out that this figure of 330 individuals are those individuals identified as CP members who were not on the Security Index prior to 9/1/56.

To bring the Bureau up to date on the Identification Program, 93 individuals have been identified as CP members and put on the Security Index between 5/1/57 through 6/20/57. This brings the total CP members who were not on the Security Index prior to 9/1/57 to 423.

At the present time, the NYO has 364 cases in which the subjects can be put on the Security Index through the submission of a summary or up-to-date investigative report. The Agents are currently working on these reports.

This will bring the total of newly-identified CP members not previously on the Security Index to 787 between 9/1/56 and 6/20/57.

The above figures do not include the number of individuals who were identified as current CP members but who were already on the Security Index at the time they were observed at meetings, etc., between the period 9/1/56 and 6/20/57.

Individuals who were identified as current CP members during the above period but who were already on the Security Index are in the vast majority. The NYO did not keep count of these individuals since they were already on the Security Index and considered as identified CP members. The number of these individuals is not immediately available and cannot be computed except through a review of all the current Security Index cases. As an example, when the NYO

2 - BUREAU (100-3-68)  
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)

TSM:END  
(3)

*Wm*

*100-80638-1212*



LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80638

covered the New York County Convention on 5/3/57 and 5/5/57, of the 110 individuals identified, 71 were already on the SI. Of the 43 in attendance at the Queens County Convention in May of 1957, 30 of 43 were already on the SI. Many Section and club meetings have been covered during this period consisting of 5 to 15 members present where all those present were already on the Security Index.

Rebulet points out that as of 3/31/57 the estimated CP membership in New York was 8394. During the past several months the NYO has definite information that the CP membership in the New York Area is much lower than 8394. The estimated membership of 8394 was compiled by the CP during the summer of 1956, and as of 11/19/56 this figure was considered by the Party to be their active membership in the New York area. In order to show such reduction, it is desired to point out the number of specific items of information received pertaining to the loss of membership within the ranks of the CP in the New York Area.

On 12/6/56, NY 1726-S\* advised that a man named [redacted] (possibly [redacted] of the "New York Times") contacted an individual believed to be SI GERSON at CP National Headquarters. [redacted] mentioned the call to the Convention and wondered about the mathematics of figuring the number of delegates. [redacted] said that the call stated that there would be 250 delegates or three for every one hundred and at this rate the Party has only 8250 members. [redacted] said that according to DENNIS' figuring there were about 20,000 members so there should be about 600 delegates. GERSON explained that money was a big factor and on the West Coast the delegates would not be fully represented.

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If the three for every one hundred CP members was correct, New York's 140 delegates at the Convention would indicate a membership of about 4660 members.

On 12/19/56, CG 5824-S\* advised that [redacted] reporting for the Committee on Leadership at the 12/19/56 session of the meeting of the CP National Committee, said that the CP had to do away with full-time method of leadership because of finances and because great loss of membership meant that not so many full-time people were required.

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On 2/4/57, NY 1784-S\* made a letter available dated 1/10/57 which was maintained in the New York State CP Headquarters. While this letter was

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80638

not signed by any organization or individual, it appeared to be from the Fur Region. This letter pointed out that only about 35 members remained of the 400 Party members of only a few years ago. The letter recommended that the 35 members should not function in the fur industry but in neighborhood clubs.

On 1/12/57, [redacted] advised that at the second session of the Greenwich Village Section Convention on 1/11/57 [redacted] stated that the Party had lost eighty per cent of its CP members in the recent past. He stated that there are less than 300 Negro members in the State of New York while in 1946 there were 8000 Negro members.

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On 1/17/57 DONALD MC KENZIE LESKER, a Bronx County CP functionary, advised Agents during a Top-lev interview that as of 7/15/56 the estimated membership in the Bronx County was 1500 and that subsequent to the February National Convention the Bronx County membership would be down below 500 members.

At the New York County CP Convention 1/18-19/57, [redacted] stated that a "considerable proportion of our membership is no longer with us." He further said that New York State since 1946 had lost eighty per cent of its members.

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[redacted] advised that at a Northwest Section CP meeting in the Bronx held on 3/28/57 [redacted] the Northwest Section Organizer and a member of the Bronx County CP Committee, said that she didn't have the exact figures but the Section Committee believes they had lost approximately half of their members in the Section. She also said that the other Sections in the Bronx were worse off than the Northwest and that their's was one of the few Sections in the Bronx which were still operating effectually.

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On 4/1/57, [redacted] advised that the Greenwich Village Section, New York County CP, had decided that in view of the losses in membership it was no longer practical to hold CP club meetings. It was decided that in the future in order to consolidate the remaining membership and to strengthen the Section organization, the Greenwich Village Section would meet as an enlarged Section with all Club members invited. The informant received the impression that in discussing the above with other Section officials, other Sections in New York County have found it necessary to take similar action.

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LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80638

[redacted] advised that on 4/8/57 [redacted] Section Organizer of the East Bronx CP Section, wanted to meet with all Club Organizers in this Section to determine how many members they had left. [redacted] stated that in the past, prior to KHRUSHCHEV'S report, they had about 230 or 240 members but the unofficial count as of 4/8/57 was 122 members.

On 4/27/57, EUGENE DENNIS, at a meeting of the CP National Committee, noted that the Committee was the largest ever at a time of the smallest membership.

On 4/30/57 [redacted] advised that [redacted] Bell Section, Queens County CP, told informant that as of 4/20/57 the Bell Section had approximately 40 active CP members whereas one year ago it had 85 members. She said that the Bell Section is very demoralized, dues are not being paid and members are not attending Club or Section meetings.

On 5/5/57, [redacted], which afforded coverage of the Queens County CP Convention, advised that [redacted] the County Organizer, stated that many people have left the Party, many are undecided whether to leave or remain and others are waiting and watching to see how things turn out.

At the same Convention a man believed to be [redacted] spoke from the Convention floor and said that in his Section some of the best comrades are leaving the Party and refusing to take part in maintaining the press.

On 6/20/57, [redacted] stated that [redacted] former Bronx Organizer, stated that the membership of the Northwest Section in the Bronx was 250 before KHRUSHCHEV'S speech and only 100 after it.

On 5/26/57, CG 5824-S\* advised that at the first meeting of the new State Committee of the CP of Illinois held on 5/25/57 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that the New York District of the CP had lost 5000 to 6000 members during the period prior to and subsequent to the National Convention of the CP USA. LIGHTFOOT stated that it was estimated that the membership of the New York District is now no more than 3000 to 3500.

On 6/4/57, during a Top-Lev interview, [redacted] advised Agents of the NYO that he had recently ascertained from a reliable source that the New York

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80638

State membership was down to about 3000 members.

On 6/6/57, [redacted] advised that GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, Executive Secretary, New York District CP, said that the Party is aware that there had been losses in membership but they have no figures on the amount. He added that plans are being made to have some sort of roll call "this fall."

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On 6/13/57, [redacted] advised that the Queens County CP membership is down at least fifty per cent and that the total present membership in Queens is less than 500. He further stated that three Sections in the Queens area have completely folded. He said that the dues payments in Queens were down about seventy-five per cent.

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From the above it can be seen that the CP in the New York District has without doubt lost a substantial percentage of its members.

As of 6/20/57 there were 2684 Communists on the Security Index in the NYO. Counting the 364 identified Communists who have not yet been recommended but for the submission of a summary or up-to-date investigative report, this will bring the total to 3048 Communists on the Security Index. It is realized, of course, that an unknown number of these are probably Communists who have become inactive or quit the Party during the recent past.

Since referenced NY letter 2/20/57, the NYO has covered between 140 and 150 CP meetings. These meetings which were covered consisted of the Reconvened State Convention and various County, Regional, Section and Club meetings. In covering some of these meetings, as many as 75 Agents were utilized. At many of these meetings the attendance fell far short of what the functionaries expected. As an example, the Industrial meeting in the Machinists and Electricians Region was covered on 6/20/57. In making the reservation, the CP member stated that around 20 people were expected. Four members showed up. It is definitely felt that the coverage we afforded these meetings would have identified many more Communists had more members been in attendance at these meetings. Our anonymous sources have shown that in the New York area membership lists as such are not maintained. In view of this, an individual must be active in the Party in order to be identified as a Communist. The coverage of the above meetings was primarily designed to identify all persons in attendance at those meetings. Commensurate with security, all types of investigative techniques were utilized, such as misurs, tesurs, fisurs and photo surveillances. The above coverage of CP

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80638

meetings does not take into account the numerous figures conducted on delegates to the National Convention, the State Convention and on individuals in the Party who, because of their position, could be expected to maintain membership data/ <sup>or attend meetings</sup> individuals who possibly would maintain membership data are singled out for intensified investigation, which would include all types of investigative techniques, including anonymous sources. Our anonymous sources have provided us with some information on membership. For example, information was developed on [redacted] New York County Financial and Membership Director, on 6/14/57. In addition to getting very valuable information on funds and the Party structure in New York County, we secured the full names of 20 individuals, some with addresses, who were transferred within and into the New York County CP.

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The NYO will continue to provide maximum coverage of all known CP meetings, such coverage being designed to identify those in attendance. In doing this, the NYO regularly contacts various meeting places, such as the National Theatre, 111 East Houston Street, Adelphi Hall, at 74 Fifth Avenue, etc., to ascertain the dates and times of future CP meetings. In addition, the NYO will continue to intensify the investigations of those individuals who, because of their position in the Party, possibly maintain membership figures and/or records.

Emphasis will continue to be placed on the Security Informant Program but during the period from 9/1/56 to the present date the Party has done practically no recruiting and, therefore, it has been extremely difficult to place our PSI'S in the Party.

It is definitely felt that if the NYO continues the above-outlined coverage and that outlined in referenced New York letter 4/24/57 that all active CP members will be identified.

The importance of the Membership Identification Program has been repeatedly brought to the attention of Agents and supervisory personnel, who are working on this matter.

Pursuant to Bureau instructions, a monthly letter will be furnished the Bureau containing the requested information set forth in rebulet.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, BALTIMORE DATE: 7/2/57

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-131940)

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION  
IS - C

The "National Guardian" (6/10/57, page 10, columns 1 & 2) announced that the first public meeting of the American Forum for Socialist Education (AFSE) would be held Wednesday, 6/12/57, 8:00 p.m. at the Community Church, 35th Street and Park Ave., NYC. The speakers were listed as follows:

A. J. MUSTE, Chairman,  
American Forum

Miss DOROTHY DAY, Editor,  
"Catholic Worker"

Doctor STRINGFELLOW BARR  
Educator

CONRAD LYNN  
Civil Rights Attorney

- 3 - Baltimore (RM)
  - (1 - BA 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - BA 100- )
  - (1 - BA 100- )
- 3 - Boston (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- )
  - (1 - 100- )
- 1 - NY (100-131940) (AFSE) (7-3)

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(COPIES CONT'D PAGE 2)

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100-80638-1213

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 2 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>J. Waters</i>	
19	

NY 100-131940

COPIES CONT'D

- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
- 5 - Chicago (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-3322) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-17506) [REDACTED]
- 2 - Cincinnati (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
- 4 - Los Angeles (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 3 - Louisville (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) (ANNE BRADEN)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CARL BRADEN)
- 3 - Minneapolis (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) (MULFORD Q. SIBLEY)
- 3 - Newark (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-33270) [REDACTED]
- 3 - Philadelphia (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
- 2 - Portland (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]

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- 4 - San Francisco (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AFSE)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
- 1 - NY (100-20802) (A. J. MUSTE) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-105390) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - NY (100- ) (SPRINGFELLOW BARR) (7-6)
- 1 - NY (100-9984) (ALBERT BLUMBERG) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-50656) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100- ) (DOROTHY DAY) (#1)
- 1 - NY (100-7388) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-20789) (W. E. B. DUBOIS) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100- ) [REDACTED] (7-6)
- 1 - NY (100-8599) [REDACTED] (12-14)
- 1 - NY (100-107973) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-25703) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-90750) [REDACTED] (7-6)
- 1 - NY (100-13480) (JOSEPH STAROBIN) (12-14)
- 1 - NY (100- ) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-62509) (DOXIE WILKERSON) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-127167) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-61928) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-88072) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-98446) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-102574) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-86616) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-13104) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-80134) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-101289) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-86872) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-60312) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-89641) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-80835) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-110186) [REDACTED] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-127453) [REDACTED] (7-3)

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- 1 - NY (100-112275) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-92801) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-88179) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-130507) (Attempts of CP, USA to  
form a Broad New Socialist  
Organization) (19)
- ① - NY (100-80638) (CP, USA Membership) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-69371) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-116907) (SUA) (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100-97078) (SWP- NY Local) (7-3)
- 1 - NY (62-11740) (NORMAN THOMAS) (7-3)
- 1 - NY (100- [redacted] #1)
- 1 - NY (100- [redacted] (#1)
- 1 - NY (100-16577) [redacted] (7-6)
- 1 - NY (100-7664) [redacted] (7-2)
- 1 - NY (100-129862) [redacted] (7-3)

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The announcement added that a panel of members of the National Committee of the AFSE would be on hand to answer audience questions. The panel was to include among others, the following:

ALBERT BLUMBERG  
BERT COCHRAN  
DAVID DELLINGER  
FARRELL DOBBS  
CLIFFORD T. MC AVOY  
JOHN T. MC MANUS  
JOSEPH STAROBIN  
GEORGE STRYKER  
DOXEY A. WILKERSON

SA [redacted] attended the above described meeting. The information set forth in this letter is the result of the personal observations of the SA. He estimated about 500 people attended this meeting.

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Contributions of \$1 were solicited at the door for admission. For a while, the admissions were being taken by [redacted] [redacted] also took a turn at collecting the admission contributions.

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A. J. MUSTE called the meeting to order at about 8:30 p.m. He was the first speaker and continued as moderator through the meeting. MUSTE stated that the purpose of the AFSE meeting was to have Socialists of various tendencies get together for an exchange of views in a free and untrammelled discussion. It was his hope that Socialists could get together on specific issues, such as Civil Rights, Negro Rights, Abolition of Nuclear Weapons and the like.

MUSTE said that opposition to the AFSE comes from two-quarters: from Senator EASTLAND and J. EDGAR HOOVER. MUSTE stated that he has refused and would

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continue to refuse the information demanded by the Eastland Committee. He told the audience that the American Civil Liberties Union had informed him that they would be happy to give him any aid needed as the result of his stand taken before the Eastland Committee.

MUSTE asked any employees of the FBI present to take the message contained in his next remarks to Mr. HOOVER: He charged that Mr. HOOVER was prostituting his office when on one hand he claimed that the files of the FBI were super secret, while on the other hand on his own initiative, HOOVER made public statements smearing certain people, including MUSTE and ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, as allegedly Communists because they signed the "Amnesty Appeal." MUSTE charged again that Mr. HOOVER was prostituting his office when he alleged that MUSTE and other impartial observers at the CP National Convention of February, 1957, were Communists or Communist sympathizers.

MUSTE's comments regarding Mr. HOOVER are being furnished to the Bureau by separate communication.

Dr. STRINGFELLOW BARR was the second speaker. MUSTE said that he would discuss "discussions." BARR said he was attracted to the AFSE because he was concerned about curtailment of the freedom to discuss. He charged that people were afraid to discuss issues because of possible repercussions or being labeled subversive.

DOROTHY DAY was the third speaker. She pointed out that the "Catholic Worker" was not an official publication of the Catholic Church. She said they were members of the Catholic Press Association which meant that the "Catholic Worker" had not been disapproved of by the Catholic Church. She gave a brief history of the "Catholic Worker" movement. Miss DAY said that she, as a Catholic, was working for

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the establishment of a society where each would contribute according to his ability and each would receive according to his needs. However, she claimed that the means she would use to establish such a society were somewhat different from the means advocated by the Communists. She described the problem as one of ends and means. She claimed that the society she envisions would rest on the teachings of the church which has had communal groupings for hundreds of years. She also discussed the hardships and opposition encountered by the inter-racial communal farm in the State of Georgia.

CONRAD LYNN, the fourth speaker, concerned himself primarily with the question of Negro Rights. He felt that the AFSE could do much to further the cause of Negro Rights in particular and Civil Rights in general. LYNN read a letter from NORMAN THOMAS who had declined membership on the National Committee of the AFSE because it included Communists. LYNN also read a letter from the British Socialist Forum Movement. The letter expressed its good wishes to the AFSE. LYNN pointed out that the AFSE had no connection whatever with the British Forum Movement. LYNN stated that the AFSE needed the moral and financial support of all those present. At this point, a collection was taken up. Most of the people present contributed bills. Several \$5 bills were noted in the collection. Among those aiding in the collection were the following:



MUSTE then introduced the people sitting on the dais as "members of the National Committee of the AFSE whowere able to be here tonight." These were:

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ALBERT BLUMBERG  
DAVID DELLINGER  
FARRELL DOBBS  
CLIFFORD MC AVOY  
JOHN T. MC MANUS  
JOSEPH STAROBIN  
GEORGE STRYKER  
DOXEY WILKERSON  
TIM WOHLFORTH  
MILTON ZASLOW

When MUSTE introduced MC AVOY, he stated that MC AVOY did most of the "leg work" which made this meeting possible.

The "National Guardian" announcement, it should be noted, did not specifically include TIM WOHLFORTH or MILTON ZASLOW among those members of the National Committee of the AFSE who were to be present to answer audience questions.

The "National Guardian" announcement stated that [redacted] would be on the panel to answer audience questions. However, he was not present. No explanation was given for this by MUSTE.

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SA [redacted], on 6/13/57, telephonically contacted the offices of the "American Socialist." The man identifying himself as [redacted] stated that [redacted] was not present. SA [redacted] told [redacted] that he was a reader of the "American Socialist" and had attended the AFSE meeting of the previous evening and was disappointed as a result of [redacted] absence from the panel. SA [redacted] wondered if [redacted] was still a member of the National Committee of the AFSE, or whether his absence was due to his having withdrawn from that Committee. [redacted] answered that [redacted] was still a member of the National Committee of the AFSE and

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that [ ] absence was simply due to the fact that something came up which forced [ ] to miss the meeting.

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During the question period, DELLINGER was asked how he could be an anarchist and a pacifist as well as a Socialist. DELLINGER replied that he was an anarchist because he is against power governments. He is a pacifist because he opposes force and violence. He felt that the fact that he was an anarchist was no bar to his cooperating with Socialists or vice versa. During his answer, he pointed out that he had served a jail term for his refusal to bear arms while his brother supported and participated in the war. He pointed out that this did not lessen their brotherly feeling for each other.

WILKERSON was asked to comment on a set of facts related by an unknown male. This individual stated that seven friends who were very dear to him had been expelled by the Los Angeles CP because they associated with members of the Socialist Workers Party. He asked that if this was the attitude of the CP how could they be expected to cooperate in something like the AFSE. WILKERSON replied that he was not familiar with the incident described. He said his presence on the platform was the best testimony as to how he, a Communist, felt about cooperating with other Socialist groups.

One questioner asked FARRELL DOBBS whether after his experiences with the CP in years past, he felt the CP would or could contribute anything to the AFSE. DOBBS replied that he had many very basic differences with the CP but he believed that the CP could and would contribute to united action on certain specific issues and programs.

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When DOBBS concluded, BLUMBERG requested permission to make some comment on the same question. He agreed with DOBBS that there were many very basic differences between the CP and other Socialist groups generally and with the SWP in particular. However, BLUMBERG felt that these differences should be discussed in an effort to get together. He promised the greatest possible Communist cooperation with the AFSE.

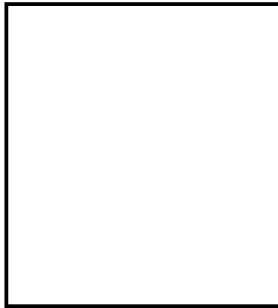
TIM WOHLFORTH was asked to comment on his impressions concerning the role of youth in the AFSE, particularly in view of the fact that he had just completed a tour of the US during which he conferred with various youth groups. WOHLFORTH stated that the youth throughout the nation is being attracted to the radical movement and he feels that the AFSE will aid considerably in the eventual unification of the youth in the radical movement.

MILTON ZASLOW was asked to comment on a question concerning civil rights in the Soviet Union. ZASLOW stated that no one on the platform was an apologist for the dictatorship in the Soviet Union. He said there was much to be done in the field of civil rights both in the US and in Russia. According to him, one of the purposes of the AFSE was to discuss these questions.

MUSTE, throughout the program, while introducing the speakers, made several comments of his own. He stated that the AFSE was operating on the principal of "non exclusion." That is, any Socialist tendency was welcome to cooperate with and join with the National Committee of the AFSE. There was one exception, however. In order to avoid the charge of Communist domination and to encourage the die-hard foes of Communism to participate in the AFSE, it was decided to limit the number of Communist members of the National Committee of the AFSE to two.

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During the course of the meeting, SA  observed the following individuals in the audience:



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During the course of the AFSE meeting of 6/12/57, SA SAVIOLA obtained from unidentified individuals the following three items:

1. Flyer advertising that the Militant Labor Forum would present three showings (6/21 and 22/57 at 9:00 p.m. and at 5:00 p.m. Sunday, 6/23/57) of the movie "Salt of the Earth", at 116 University Place, NYC.

Location

Attachment to  
NY 100-97078-1519

2. Booklet "Underdogs vs. Upperdogs", by JIM PECK; illustrated by MAT KAUTEN. It is self-described on the front cover as "a picture story of the struggle against Social injustice".

Location

NY 105-5771-1A1

3. Brochure published by the AFSE including a statement of purpose and a list of the officers and members of the National Committee of the AFSE.

Location

NY 100-131940-1B1(1)



NY 100-131940

Item one, described above, needs no further comment.

Item two on page 13 states that the underdogs should strive to maintain complete civil rights and avoid all thought control. On page 15 the booklet declares that under all social systems, the most important underdog struggle of the future is to win the right to strike against the government.

Item three states that the AFSE was organized to "stimulate study and serious untrammelled discussion of the problems of socialism in the United States." The AFSE will attempt to organize regional and national conferences and by these and other means to contribute not only to the intellectual clarification but to the building of a new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in the US. This brochure also sets out the officers and the National Committee of the AFSE which are as follows:

Officers

A. J. MUSTE - Chairman  
KERMIT EBY - Vice-chairman  
MILTON MAYER - Vice-chairman  
JOHN T. MC MANUS - Vice-chairman  
MULFORD Q. SIBLEY - Vice-chairman  
SIDNEY LENS - Secretary

National Committee

JAMES ARONSON	ALBERT BLUMBERG
JOSEPH ATKINS	ANNE BRADEN
MICHAEL BAKER	CARL BRADEN
PAUL BARAN	DERK BODDE
STRINGFELLOW BARR	HAROLD CHARBNAU
	BERT COCHRAN

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DOROTHY DAY  
DAVE DELLINGER  
FARRELL DOBBS  
W. E. B. DUBOIS  
WALDO FRANK  
STEPHEN GRATTAN  
LEO HUBERMAN  
J. STUART INNERST  
RUSSELL JOHNSON  
OLIVER LOUD  
CONRAD LYNN  
CLIFFORD MC AVOY  
WILLIAM NEUMANN  
RUSSELL NIXON  
HARVEY O'CONNOR  
SAM POLLOCK  
JOSEPH STAROBIN  
GEORGE STRYKER  
FRITJOF THYGESON  
CHARLES WALKER  
DOXIE WILKERSON  
WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS  
ROBERT S. VOGEL  
TIM WOHLFORTH  
MILTON ZASLOW

The offices receiving copies of this letter may use the information contained herein in any appropriate manner.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)      DATE: 7-3-57  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
          ORGANIZATION  
          INTERNAL SECURITY - C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION INASMUCH AS THE LIMITED NUMBER OF  
PERSONS INVOLVED TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* on June 28, 1957, made available to SA  
JOHN E. KEATING several dictaphone memo belts, the transcrip-  
tion of which is located in Chicago file A/134-46-3790. The  
following information is contained in this transcription:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Buffalo (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Membership)
- 10 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-74560) (CP - USA, Funds) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2) (#12-14)
  - (1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press) (#7-2)
  - (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#12-8)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-52959) [REDACTED] (#20-11)
  - (1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#20-13)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46-3790a)

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*JEK*  
JEK:kw  
(16)

100-80638-1214

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 3 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*SV WINTERGARD*  
*#19-1*

CG 100-33741

BILL LAWRENCE is a member of the District Committee and the District Board of the New York Communist Party District. He is also Membership Director and Treasurer of the New York District. In addition, he is still in charge of the Cultural Region in the New York District. He is also supposed to have a job.

He stated on June 24, 1957, that he has taken on so many Party tasks because he was told that he can play a role to help save the Party. He said that he will make an effort, but if it fails, then he will give up some of his positions. BILL LAWRENCE stated that he would like to organize a national group; that is, a group on a national scale, in order to fight both extremes. This group could play the same role that the rank and file "Middle group" played during the Convention in the New York District. LAWRENCE thinks that all kinds of Party members should be gotten together in order to hit the heads of both the Right and the Left.

LAWRENCE stated that the situation in the New York District is horrible. He said that there is a stand-off between the GATES-CHARNEY and the DAVIS-WEINSTONE forces. There are some people in the "Middle group" who convinced him to accept the position of Membership Director and Treasurer in order to play a middle role and to prevent the extreme Right or the extreme Left from taking over.

LAWRENCE stated that most of the time the members of the District Board are fighting each other and he doubts very much if they are going anywhere.

He said that as Membership Director, he has been trying to find out what is the membership of the Party and what organization there is in New York. He is going from county to county, from division to division, and section to section. They are having a terrible time locating the membership. He said that no matter what figure people use, they are just guessing because they do not know.

In the opinion of LAWRENCE, about one-third of the Party was lost prior to the Convention. Another one-third was lost in one form or another since the Convention. These people are either passive or have dropped away. There may be a third of the Party membership, but no more than four thousand members

CG 100-33741

in New York. In speaking of one-third of the Party membership, the last registration figure of 8,800 is used as the basis.

LAWRENCE stated that there were sixteen sections in Brooklyn. All that can be located are nine sections. They do not know where the other sections are. They are not meeting; they are not organized. There were fifteen sections in Manhattan and they have located one-half of them. One-half of the sections in the Bronx cannot be located. LAWRENCE did not give the number of sections which were supposed to be in the Bronx.

LAWRENCE stated that in some regions, the membership has been reduced from eight hundred members to as little as two hundred members. He said, however, that the situation is a little better in Buffalo. Even in Buffalo, however, they have lost about fifteen members. They have about twenty-five members left in Buffalo. There were about forty, most of whom were in industry.

LAWRENCE believes that if the situation continues and there is no ideological clarity, the Party will be reduced to an even smaller group. He said that the Party is falling apart and will go bankrupt one of these days.

LAWRENCE stated that over the preceding weekend, there was some question as to whether the "Daily Worker" could continue publication. LAWRENCE stated that \$10,000 was needed to keep the paper going. He took \$10,000 from the reserve funds. He said if this is repeated three or four times, there will be no reserve and no "Daily Worker".

He said that members in Brooklyn such as  and others do not care whether or not other members leave the Party and they make no effort to bring them back into the Party. He said that they have their hands on hundreds of thousands of dollars. As long as they have this treasury, they will hold on, regardless of the size of the Party. LAWRENCE is on a committee which is to try to trace some of this Party money which is supposed to be floating around in New York.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (100-11093) ] X

Date: JUL 8 1957 ] X

FROM: SA [redacted] ] X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: CP, USA ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

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[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 6/7/57, furnished the following information to SA [redacted] in a typed statement, dated 5/27/57, maintained in [redacted] X

1 - Indianapolis

1 cc IP 100-9529 (E. Blum)  
22 - Chicago (RM)

- [redacted] - 100-22435)
- (Emanuel Blum - 100-9529)
- (Morris Childs - 100-3470)
- [redacted] - 100-18080)
- (Lester Davis - 100-21073)
- [redacted] - 100-4031)
- (Flo Hall - 100-12459)
- [redacted] - 100-13763)
- [redacted] - 100-2515)
- (Sam Kushner - 100-2748)
- (Claude Lightfoot - 61-867)
- [redacted] - 100-3720)
- [redacted] - 100-13332)
- [redacted] - 100-22078)
- [redacted] - 100-20289)
- [redacted] - 100-2749)
- [redacted] (LNU) - 100- )
- (Unsub, Negro-male, age 60 - 100- )
- (Unsub, white-female, age in late 20's - 100- )
- (Unsub, white-female, age 25 - 100- )
- (Unsub, white-male, age 52 - 100- )
- (CP, USA Organization - 100-18953)

1 - Detroit (RM)

(Carl Winter)

2 - New York (RM)

(CP, USA Organization - 100-80641 - #19)

(CP, USA Membership - 100-80638 - #19)

HSK-alk  
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~~CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 9803 on 6-6-79  
REASON: EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-6-89~~

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Rec'd 4/14/78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Waters

100-80638-1215

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 10 1957	
NEW YORK	

J. Waters J.W.

IP 100-11093

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Informant advised that on this date, a meeting of the Illinois State Committee of the Communist Party was held at Milda Hall in the 3200 block of South Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois. Informant identified the following individuals as being present at this meeting:

[REDACTED]

EMANUEL BLUM  
MORRIS CHILDS

[REDACTED]

LESTER DAVIS  
FLO HALL

[REDACTED]

SAM KUSHNER  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]

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Informant stated he had observed [REDACTED] at one previous meeting at which time he was referred to as [REDACTED]. Informant described him as Negro-male, 50 - 55 yrs., 5'10", 210 lbs., may be from the packing industry.

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Informant stated that in addition there were the following individuals present at the State Committee Meeting concerning whom he could obtain no names:

Negro-male, age 60, 5'9", 150 lbs., grey hair, one bad eye - probably the right eye;

White-female, late 20's, 5'1", 125 lbs., blonde hair, wears glasses, has been at other CP meetings;

White-female, age 25, 5'3", 105 lbs., light brown hair;

White-male, age 52, 5'10", 170 lbs., dark brown hair, wears glasses, talked slowly, appeared to have been in Communist Party considerable number of years, knows CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT quite well.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IP 100-11093

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Informant advised that [redacted] was elected chairman of the meeting. Other individuals such as [redacted] had been nominated but declined the nomination.

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The proposed agenda was: (1) Report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT concerning the National Committee and National Board Meeting of the Communist Party; (2) Discussion of various resolutions and motions that would be offered to the State Committee Meeting; (3) Election of State Board members.

In the discussion of the proposed agenda, [redacted] of Indiana, proposed that the question of the separation of Indiana from Illinois be discussed before the election of State Board members pointing out that if Indiana was separated from Illinois, it possibly might make a difference in the composition of the Illinois State Board. The Illinois State Committee agreed to [redacted] proposition.

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT then made a report on the National Committee Meeting of the Communist Party which had been held in New York City on April 27 and 28, 1957. This report was very similar to the one made by EMANUEL BLUM at a previous CP meeting concerning which informant had already furnished details to the FBI.

Informant said that LIGHTFOOT did state that at the National Committee Meeting, a number of questions concerning "The Worker" had been resolved, but that a few days after the National Committee Meeting had concluded, LIGHTFOOT had received another report that the situation in New York had again reached the point of a crisis. LIGHTFOOT said that he had received a report that CARL WINTER, of Detroit, and others had gone back into New York to try to resolve the difficulties.

LIGHTFOOT stated that while the National Committee Meeting had been going on, a number of National Committee members representing all points of view in the Communist Party had locked themselves into a room for three days in an attempt to reach an agreement, but had been unable to do so. LIGHTFOOT stated that the situation of the Communist Party in New York State was critical. He said that between five and six thousand members had left the Communist Party during the last three months. He stated that the CP membership in New York State a few months ago had numbered approximately 9,000, but at the present time he doubted if the party could muster 3,500 members in New York State. LIGHTFOOT continued that the CP had gone into the National Convention with approximately 16,000 members, and that he would estimate the party membership to be down to about 9,000.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



IP 100-11093

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIGHTFOOT said that he had held a discussion with CARL WINTER of Michigan, who had stated to him that the party had fallen apart in Michigan. WINTER indicated that he was going to get a job to help support himself.

Discussion was then held on the CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT report with each individual being allowed five minutes. A number of people spoke, including EMANUEL BLUM with BLUM taking the position that the Right should be thrown out of the Communist Party, and the party should work with what was left. The other individuals speaking were more inclined towards a middle-of-the-road position and that an attempt should be made to resolve the party's difficulties.

Following the discussion of the LIGHTFOOT report, there was a consideration of motions. [redacted] made a motion concerning an accusation of Factionalism against the Flynn Division of the Illinois CP. He proposed a meeting with the incoming State Board of the Illinois CP to clarify the allegation of Factionalism.

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The State Committee then considered the question of Indiana. BLUM made a motion that pending discussion by Gary, the states of Illinois and Indiana be separated, and that Indiana be given status as a separate CP district. BLUM asked that the Illinois State Committee agree to this, and that if and when Gary agreed to this proposition, the separation would become official. BLUM urged that the fraternal between the two states be continued. The Illinois State Committee agreed to BLUM's motion, but desired that Steel in Gary and Chicago be co-ordinated. [redacted] of Indiana then spoke, pointing out that at the Indiana State Convention of the Communist Party, there had been agreement that the states should separate. [redacted] urged that close cooperation in auto and various methods of work be continued.

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Informant stated that at this point, [redacted] and BLUM left the Illinois State Committee meeting, inasmuch as Indiana was not concerned with the election of Illinois State Board members.

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Caution should be used in the reporting or handling of the above information to avoid jeopardizing the identity of this informant.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI

7/8/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-87235)

**SURVEY OF SELECTED OFFICES FOR TECHNIQUES  
OF ESTABLISHING MEMBERSHIP IN BASIC REVOLUTIONARY  
ORGANIZATIONS  
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTERS**

ReBulet, 6/12/57.

A. Observations as to the Problem and Its Solution

It is considered that continued emphasis on the problem of establishing membership in basic revolutionary organizations will develop on the part of agents conducting security investigations, additional alertness to and recognition of the means by which the problem may be solved. Widespread recognition of the problem is, in itself, a beginning of its solution. In this regard, a Bureau monograph analyzing the techniques already utilized or contemplated would be most beneficial.

It is noted that the Department has advised that the criteria set forth in the Communist Control Act of 1954 appears relevant to a determination as to whether sufficient evidence had been ascertained if an individual fails to register under the Membership Provisions of the ISA of 1950 (Bureau letter to NY, 6/4/56, captioned "CP, USA (PROSECUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS UNDER THE ISA OF 1950); IS-C, ISA OF 1950."

It is further noted that these criteria involve considerable latitude in the type of admissible information that constitutes evidence of membership and include such an item as the following:

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - NY (100-102320) (ISA OF 1950) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-87235

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Waters J.H.

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"...an individual has indicated by word, action, conduct, writing or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization."

Establishing the organizational structure of the basic revolutionary organization should be the first step in a determination of membership or the holding of office. The articles of incorporation, its constitution and by-laws should be determined and placed in evidence to provide an objective standard of the aims of the organization, qualifications for membership and the setup of governing officers and committees.

The duties imposed on members, such as the payment of dues as well as the accounting for them, the method of inducting and expelling members, the right to run for and hold office and the procedure of electing officers, all provide a guide to activity in which the particular subject of investigation may be engaged.

Evidence should also be gathered with reference to the intent existing at the time of preparation of the organization's constitution and by-laws since the intent may not be accurately stated in the wording or may actually be concealed. Similar attention should be given to the duties to be performed by members and officers. Evidence of the participation of a person in the discussion of the intended objectives may show his understanding of the principles of the organization and how he intends to achieve its objectives.

B. Investigative Operation or Technique Used to Obtain from a Subject an Oral or Written Admission as to Membership in a Basic Revolutionary Organization or Front Group

At the present time there are many Communists about to defect from the Party either because of the factional dispute among the leaders or because of dissatisfaction with

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the Soviet Union in the matter of handling the Jewish question and because of the Soviet action in Hungary. In the interviews which have been conducted with the CP members falling in this category, information has been received orally from the subjects of an admission of membership in the CP prior to the period of their defection. The subjects generally readily admit past active Party membership and, in some instances, indicate that although they are not active Communists today, they still adhere to the principles of Communism. Some of those interviewed have also supplied evidence against other persons in the CP. The SI Interview Program as well as the Toplev Program in the NYO has developed such information. It has been found in interviews of members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) that some of these persons readily admit SWP membership. On the other hand, members of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR), Johnson Forest Group and the Socialist Union of America (SUA) have in the overwhelming preponderance of interviews conducted refused to admit current membership. However, members of the NPPR frequently admit past membership in this organization.

Attention is invited to the following specific examples:

[redacted] (Bureau file 100-352312; NY file 100-82900) was interviewed under the Toplev Program on 3/12/57. The Agents pointed out to [redacted] that they are aware that many persons, such as he himself, were changing their minds about Communism and about the Soviet Union and that they desired to have a discussion with him regarding his own personal situation. [redacted] replied "I'm still a Communist."

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[redacted] (Bureau file 100-165944; NY file 100-25880) was interviewed under the Toplev Program, 1/17/57. He advised that he "verbally" resigned from the Bronx County Board of the CP, USA, in mid November, 1956.

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[redacted] claimed he defected because of the 20th Congress of the CP, USA, and because of the Hungarian situation. However, [redacted] admitted attending the Bronx County CP Convention, 1/12/57. On re-interview on 5/20/57, [redacted] admitted that he and his wife attended the Bronx County CP Convention on 5/3/57 as observers. He also supplied some information concerning others whom he claimed resigned from or were becoming inactive in the CP. It is noted that [redacted] is under consideration by the Department as a subject for prosecution under the ISA of 1950. The question of contact with [redacted] was taken up with the Department prior to the interview and the Department advised on 12/5/56 that contact with [redacted] at that time would not interfere with future prospective plans of the Department. [redacted] remains on the key figure list of the NYO.

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An article appeared in the "New York Sun" issue of 12/14/48 naming MARION BACHRACH (Bureau file 100-3255; NY file 100-41932). The article concerning the appearance of MARION BACHRACH before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, at which time she declined to tell the Committee whether she was a member of the CP. According to the article, BACHRACH told "news reporters" that she was a member of the CP and was proud of it. One of these reporters was interviewed by the Bureau. He recalled asking BACHRACH, referring to her own testimony before the Committee, "Why do you think it would tend to degrade you to say that you are a CP member?" BACHRACH's reply was, "I do not think it would tend to degrade me and I will tell you that I am a member of the CP." Another reporter who was present at the interview of BACHRACH was interviewed by the Bureau and also recalled the substance of her admission of membership.

In the case of GEORGE HUGH MURRAY MATTELAND HARDYMAN, who was being considered for prosecution for violation of passport regulations, it was important to establish that HARDYMAN intended to travel to China to attend a peace conference prior to the time he departed the United States. In his application for a passport, HARDYMAN had stated that he proposed to stay abroad a month for pleasure and to visit



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his brother. Upon his return to the United States, HARDYMAN held a press conference. A Special Agent participated at the conference incognito and posed the following questions:

"When you left America, did the State Department know you intended to attend this peace conference?"

HARDYMAN said, "No. I didn't tell them."

Then the Agent asked, "However, you did leave the United States with the intention of attending this conference?"

HARDYMAN answered, "Yes."

Subsequently, signed statements were taken from news reporters who participated in the above conference and the statements included in substance the above admission.

C. Investigative Procedure or Technique Directly or Indirectly Utilizing a Confidential Source, Panel Source, Source of Information, or Other Person to Obtain Information of Evidentiary Value in Establishing Membership

It is possible that in view of the recent United States Supreme Court decisions, members of the basic revolutionary organizations might consider that they have less reason to be cautious in their statements and actions from which membership in the organization might be inferred. Alerting those persons who normally come in contact with SI subjects and cooperate with the Bureau is potentially more productive now than at some times in the past.

When it became known that the CP, USA, was seeking a meeting place to hold the 16th National Convention in February, 1957, liaison was established with a confidential source of information at the hall that was re-leased by the Party for the convention. Through the confidential source, information

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was obtained regarding the CP members who identified themselves in behalf of the Party in leasing the hall and were in contact with the management in setting up the arrangements for the convention (Bureau file 100-3).

In September, 1954, the NY County CP was located on East 99th Street, NYC. At that time, the Party was operating in the underground and rent for the office was paid for by postal money orders in the name of a person not active in the Party. The landlord was advised that he need not accept rent from a person not known to him and he obtained a dispossess order against his tenant. In the execution of the dispossess, the City Marshal removed the records and furniture to the street where it was declared to be abandoned property. Agents were then able to obtain access to these records. (Bureau file 100-3-4; NY file 100-26603-C42).

[redacted] (Bureau file 100-363500; NY file 100-92429) denied CP membership when executing Army Loyalty Forms. Investigation at his former places of employment resulted in information from former fellow employees that he had admitted CP activity to them. He admitted to a fellow employee on one occasion that he was leaving work to march in the May Day Parade (1948) and he admitted to this employee that he was a member of the CP.

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A panel source attended an open meeting of the American Forum for Socialist Education. The source heard three members of the CP introduced from the stage as Communists.

In the case of [redacted] (Bureau file 100-337190), NY file 100-66028) the superintendent of an apartment house, on his own motion, saved some trash being disposed of by [redacted]. Among this trash was a handwritten letter in handwriting in which he admitted he was a member of the CP.

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D. Situation Involving Use of a Subversive Organization's Records in Establishing Membership

Use of Payroll Records of basic revolutionary organizations submitted to the Internal Revenue Service might be considered. During the period the CP maintained a bank account (prior to the levy by the Internal Revenue Service) contact was had with the bank to identify individuals named by the Party as authorized to draw checks (Bureau file 100-3).

The International Workers Order (IWO) records in NYC were made available to the NYO through the New York State Insurance Company. These records reflect the employment of some persons by that organization as well as the membership in the IWO of numerous individuals.

An individual having legal access to the property of Camp Midvale came across a quantity of papers near the Camp incinerator which papers he turned over to the NYO. Among these papers was a personal questionnaire which was prepared by an individual who had been expelled from the CP and who had been contacted by the Bureau on a number of occasions and had been cooperative. This individual identified the questionnaire as having been executed by himself on CP instructions and turned over to the CP. In this manner the nature of similar questionnaires was determined.

A few years ago, the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) abandoned an office in Harlem, leaving many records, some of which would establish membership.

E. Situation Involving the Use of Records (Police, Private Business, Industry, Government, or Organization) in Establishing Membership

Congressional hearings as well as city and state



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hearings concerning activities of basic revolutionary organizations and front groups should be followed closely, not only for admissions and evidence of membership, but for potential witnesses who may be able to furnish information upon interview by the Bureau.

The Board of Higher Education of the State of New York has made available investigations conducted by that group. Results of investigations previously conducted by the Rapp-Coudert Committee of the City of New York have also been made available (Bureau file 100-3).

Police permits issued to basic revolutionary organizations for meetings sometimes reflect the identity and position of some members of the organizations. City amusement tax records, realty company records, including leases, utility company records, bank records, including the forms submitted by the organization periodically showing the authority to maintain the account and signature cards, leases for halls used for meetings and conventions, contracts for services and supplies would all appear to offer a potential source of evidence concerning membership.

The files of the New York City Police Department, include a report submitted by [redacted] Lieutenant, Second Grade, reflect the following statement by GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY at a May, 1953 meeting, "As a Communist, I was a proud man when I stood in the court for sentence. I am just as proud today."

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In the case of [redacted] (Bureau 100-355948; NY 100-78339) the 1950 City Directory for Albany, NY, reflected that [redacted] CP Organizer, resided at [redacted] Avenue, Albany, NY.

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Records of Sears and Roebuck, Bronx, New York, reflected that Mrs. [redacted] executed an application for insurance in November, 1952. This application reflected

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that [redacted] had been employed for two months as a tool and dye maker and revealed that he had previously been employed as a sub-district organizer for the CP, 116 Wall Street, Schenectady, New York.

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In the case of DONALD LESTER (Bureau file 100-165944; NY file 100-25880) the records of the Alliance Bank, Rochester, New York, on August 23, 1943, identified LESTER as the Secretary of the Monroe County CP.

The auditor of the Union National Bank and Trust Company, Kansas City, Missouri, made available the "opening card" and "signature card" signed by DONALD M. LESTER on 2/12/46. The "opening card" lists LESTER's employment as with the CP.

Records of the Veterans Administration, NYC, reflect that in November, 1946, DONALD M. LESTER stated that his occupation during 1939 - 1942, was as educational director, New York State CP. As of 4/3/51, LESTER stated that he was educational director, Kings County CP from 1947 to April, 1951.

A representative of the National Fire Insurance Company, NYC, made available DONALD M. LESTER's application for automobile insurance, dated 3/25/55. This application includes the notarized signature of DONALD M. LESTER and reflects his occupation as Secretary, Bronx County CP, NYC.

In the case of [redacted] (Bureau file 100-13939; NY file 100-8340) the records of the Associated Hospital Service of NY included a payroll deduction the applicant filed with the service, dated 1/16/56. This application reflects that [redacted] is an organizer for the NY CP.

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F. Use of Published Material from Non-subversive as well as Subversive Sources in Establishing Membership

The CP follows a practice of issuing press releases to the public press regarding matters of public interest.

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These releases, in some instances, were signed or attached to a memorandum and delivered by CP representatives or liaison with the press. For example, SIMON W. GERSON publically served as the CP liaison with the press during the 16th National Convention of the CP.

Where press articles reflect that they are based upon releases of a basic revolutionary organization, arrangements might be made with non-subversive papers to preserve the press releases received from these organizations wherein members and officers are identified.

Publications by the CP itself, the "Daily Worker", "Political Affairs", "Party Voice" and other publications prepared in each district set forth information concerning individual party membership and they contain information revealing the authors of articles in these publications. The administrative officers in these publications are also registered (Bureau file 100-3).

In those instances where books or pamphlets are written by members of basic revolutionary organizations which publications contain pertinent information concerning the author's membership or position in these groups, consideration might be given to the subpoena of the records of the publisher for evidence of authorship.

The "Daily Worker" issue of 2/13/57 listed the twenty members at large elected to the CP National Committee to the 16th National Convention, CP, USA.

The "Daily Worker" issue of 4/3/57 published the names of fifteen persons elected by the New York State Committee to the New York State Convention held 3/30-31/57, at NYC.

The "Daily Worker" issue of 2/14/57 published the names of the CP National Administrative Committee elected by the CP Convention.

The "Daily Worker" issue of 5/6/57 published the names of twenty members of the Executive Board of the CP elected by the CP National Committee on 4/27-28/57.

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The "Daily Worker" issue of 6/4/57 published the names of the CP National Secretaries named at the meeting of the CP National Executive Board on 5/22-23/57.

It is noted that in the trial of the United States vs TRACHTENBERG, official statements of the CP, USA, published in the "Daily Worker" were admitted in evidence.

G. Use of Any Photographic or Physical Surveillances in Establishing Membership

Physical and Photographic Surveillances have been conducted on a continuing basis of the CP National headquarters. This type of coverage is also afforded announced CP affairs; for example, the 16th National Convention of the CP. As a result of this coverage many individuals are identified in attendance at these CP functions.

In regard to the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA, information was obtained through a confidential source that the hall where it was held was re-leased by the CP for its convention. A portion of the photographic surveillance was then organized and placed in such a manner so as to restrict the area of coverage insofar as possible to include only those who actually entered the particular area where the sessions were held.

At the reconvened Kings County (Brooklyn) CP Convention held 5/8/57, at the Premier Palace, 505 Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn, NY, some 150 delegates were present. Agents, working with the cooperation of the management of the premises, were able to secret themselves on a landing between two braces of stairway adjacent to the convention and thus could look in on what was taking place through a grill air vent enabling them to identify the convention for what it was and to identify many of those present. The convention occurred in a large basement hall and no problem was encountered with respect to the use of these quarters by any other organization or group than the CP.

Additionally, photographs of all who attended were



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secured by establishing a photographic surveillance in a room in the immediate proximity of the area where the delegates to the convention entered the convention hall. Photographs were also taken of the convention in session from the vantage point of the grill air vent referred to above regarding all those assembled. Agents were then in a position to testify that those persons whose photographs were taken and later identified were participants at this convention.

Meeting of the CP County Committee and meetings of CP Section Groups in Brooklyn have occurred on the second floor of Estabrook Palace in a room designated as Room 3, which is sufficiently large to accommodate sixty persons. Adjacent to Room 3 is Room 4 and both rooms are used by a Carpenters Union. Room 4 is used as an office where membership dues are received and Room 3 as a meeting room. Between Rooms 3 and 4 is an opening approximately 13" by 24" in a common wall, where dues are paid by the union membership. When not in use, the union office is closed off to Room 3 by a small window on hinges in Room 3, which is set in place and locked. The NYO has covered CP meetings in this area by setting up a peg board containing holes 3/16" in diameter and occurring at 1" intervals, in Room 4 to cover the area of the office window referred to above. The peg board is nailed in place and a few incidental notices placed thereon to suggest that it is simply a union bulletin board. The Agents have then assumed a position in Room 4 before the scheduled CP meeting is to occur, open the window and placed a blackout curtain around the window area to screen against appearance of light to the rear of the peg board. Agents have then taken a position in the window area within the blackout cloth and have been able to observe who is present at the meeting.

The NYO has also succeeded in securing good photographs from this vantage point the noise being synchronized with the noise in the meeting room and incidental noise from the street.

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On 3/6/57, a section of the Bronx County CP held a convention at Hunts Point Palace, Bronx, NY. From an adjoining building across a 10' alleyway, Agents were able to observe and photograph those persons in attendance at the convention. Prior arrangements had been made to have the windows of the room in which the convention was held washed which facilitated observations as well as techniques of photographing.

II. Other Techniques or Ideas which Were Used or Might be Used Under Specific Conditions

Meetings sponsored by the organization or in which it is a participant may sometimes be attended by paid sources and by SAS, it being noted that it is customary for speakers to be introduced as members, representatives, or officers of a particular organization. It is also possible that other members or officers of the organization may join in the discussion identifying themselves.

It is not unlikely that at least some of the neighbors of SI subjects which neighbors might cooperate with this Bureau, have information concerning the membership of the subject in a basic revolutionary organization. It is possible that should they be alerted to the question of their specific knowledge of the subject's membership in an organization, they would be less likely to fail to report what was done or said by the subject having a hearing on this point. To proceed a step further, it is possible that in selected cases where the neighbor has developed a particular rapport with the subject, the neighbor might engage in conversation with the subject with the specific intention of eliciting information regarding the subject's membership, should the opportunity arise. This same emphasis on the question of membership may be productive when considered in the case of contact with cooperative employers and/or fellow employees of SI subjects at such time as they are interviewed relative to the subject's employment.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 7/8/57  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

Source [redacted]  
Reliability (Protect by T symbol)  
Date of Activity Who has furnished reliable information in the past.  
Date Received 6/22/57  
Received by 6/24/57 SA JOHN A. HAAG of NYO and SA [redacted] of Newark  
Location of Report [redacted].

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside the Bureau unless it is paraphrased. The informant should not be identified with any location or activity.

The following is a copy of a seven page typewritten report prepared by the informant of part of the 6/22/57, session of the CP, USA National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting:

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
  - (1 - Bureau 100-3-81) (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (RM)
  - (1 - Bureau 100-3-91) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (100- ) (CARL WINTER) (RM)
  - (1 - Detroit 100- ) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 2 - Minneapolis (100- ) (CARL ROSS) (RM)
  - (1 - Minneapolis 100- ) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 3 - Philadelphia (100- ) (DAVE DAVIS) (RM)
  - (1 - Philadelphia 100- ) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
  - (1 - Philadelphia 100- ) (TOM NABRIED) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100- ) (MORRIS CHILDS) (RM)
  - (1 - Chicago 100- ) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (RM)
- 4 - Newark (134-194A) (RM)
  - (1 - Newark 100- ) (PAT TOOHEY) (RM)
  - (1 - Newark 100- ) [redacted] (RM)
  - (1 - Newark 100- ) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (RM)

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1 - New York (100-80641)

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1 - Buffalo (100- ) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (RM)  
1 - Boston (100- ) (MIKE RUSSO) (RM)  
1 - Cleveland (100- ) (HY LUMER) (RM)  
[REDACTED]  
1 - New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#12-16)  
1 - New York (100-26603) (CP, USA DISTRICT 2) (#19-2)  
1 - New York (100-26603-C ) (BRONX COUNTY CP) (#12-10)  
1 - New York (100-132430 ) (CP INDUSTRIAL SECTION) (#19-2)  
1 - New York (100-80624) (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (97-169) (DAILY WORKER) (#7-2)  
1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (#19-2)  
1 - New York (100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#12-13)  
1 - New York (100-18673) [REDACTED] (#19-2)  
1 - New York (100-110840) (EARL DURHAM) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (#12-11)  
1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#12-14)  
1 - New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#19-1)  
1 - New York (100-61206) (HOWARD FAST) (#12-15)  
1 - New York (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (#12-11)  
1 - New York (100-75829) (ROBERT FRIEDMAN) (#12-10)  
1 - New York (100-14859) [REDACTED] (#12-16)  
1 - New York (100-128817) (CP, USA DISTRICT 2, MEMBERSHIP) (#19-2)

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24 June 1957

Meeting of the National Executive Committee, Communist Party.

The meeting of this Committee was held in New York Saturday and Sunday, June 22-23.

In conjunction, a number of permanent commissions and temporary sub-committees also held sessions, to take advantage of the many people being in the city from distant points. Among these were the Appeals Committee, Farm Commission, National Affairs Committee and others. Data on these auxiliary meetings will be prepared separately, to the extent the writer is familiar with their activities.

Although scheduled to convene at 10 A.M. on the 22nd, the meeting did not open until well past 11 A.M.

The meeting took place in the board room on the first floor of Party headquarters at 23 West 26th Street.

Present at the meeting were: Foster, Dennis, Ben Davis, George Charney, Gates, Stein, [redacted] Lightfoot, Lumer, Winter, Russo, Dave Davis, Jackson, Durham--who are regular members of the N.E.C. Regular members who were absent were Healy and [redacted] of California, Elizabeth Flynn (still on probation) and Fred Fine.

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Several National Committee members who are not members of the N.E.C. were present on and off during the Saturday session. These were Weinstone, Toohey, Nabried and Gerson (I think he is a member.) Several who are not members of the NC or NEC were present, as Stachel and Morris Childs--who are part of the palace guard--and [redacted] who with Weinstone had been invited to participate in the discussion on the "status" of the Party, with reference to the critical situation in N.Y.

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The NEC dealt with three subjects on the first day:

1. An evaluation and discussion of the recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court;
2. A report by Stein, and prolonged discussion upon what was called "the serious internal situation within the Party and measures to end the crisis";
3. A long and detailed report by Morris Childs on the doings of the Communist Parties in Mexico, Cuba, Honduras, Guatamala, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Colombia.

(The informant) heard only references to the matter (item<sup>#</sup> 1) in speeches made later in the day on other subjects. These references implied that Foster and some other people saw in the decisions the beginning of an end to the "repression" and affording every possibility of reestablishing the Party. From another reference it seems that Winter disagreed with such an estimate and warned against creating illusions among themselves.

The meeting consumed about two hours on this first matter, as it adjourned for lunch at 1.P.M. having assembled after 11 A.M. However, in between this period, at about noon, another half hour taken up with an adjournment to greet Bob Thompson, who dropped in and then left for the day. The Committee sent out for several bottles of Scotch and bourbon and for the next half hour turned the Party into a party.

Upon reconvening, Sid Stein made an hour long introduction of the second item on the agenda.

The Stein report was a reflection of the deep, pervading and continuing crisis in the Party.

He commenced by indicating that the crisis has continued since the National Convention, that the Party has suffered tremendous losses in membership, and that among the many left there are doubts, hesitations and lack of confidence

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in the party, its program, its leadership and its ability to move out of the ditch.

The "positive" decisions of the National convention remain unapplied, and instead of moving aggressively into areas of constructive mass work--which he thought the convention policies were capable of achieving--he reported on the continued existence of factionalism, division, unclarity, to the degree where, since the National Committee met in April until today, factionalism has been responsible for nearly wrecking the New York state organization. He mentioned that in Brookly alone 14 Section Organizers, "type of people who stood through thick and thin for years" gave up and quit the Party.

He said that recently some successes were had in curbing the sharpness of the inner struggle in the New York outfit, and that Davis and Charney had come to some agreements and were making a few starts to constructive work and getting the Party onto a workable and active basis, but that the severity of the problems deepen and it will take the most sober and responsible conduct by all party leaders if they wish to prevent the total destruction of the Party.

He stressed the need of an end to the factionalism by a serious effort to apply the convention decisions, the taking up of "mass issues" as the struggle against the H-Bomb, economic matters, public questions, labor movement issues and the like. In detail he described measures to win back the many thousands of defectors, by a planned campaign to visit them, discuss their objections and "overcome their confusion."

Stein then warned against the rise of a new factional struggle, which, if it came, would finally and thoroughly wreck the Party for good. He said this kind of a struggle was already shaping up and it had to be stopped. He said that the recent articles by Foster which attacked [redacted] and Howard Fast was kindling the flame of a destructive struggle; and that the Daily Worker, in publishing a book review by Friedman of Apthekers "Truth About Hungary", would throw the whole Party

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into a new dispute about Hungary and foreign questions which would finish the Party off.

The background of this matter is as follows:

Following the National CP Convention, the newspapers and magazines of the French, Soviet, Czech and some other pro-Stalinist type Parties, published "reviews" of the decisions of the Convention. They all found that the CP USA had stood firm for a Marxist line, had rejected "revisionism" and rejected "liquidators". These reviews all tended to strongly support the Foster position and imply that the CP USA has remained staunchly pro Stalinist.

[redacted] thereupon--reflecting the Gates group position-- wrote an article sharply criticising these foreign publications and disputing their conclusions. Whereupon Foster came through with a bitter article attacking [redacted] for twisting the facts about what the National Convention actually decided. Then, a big dispute commenced between the top leadership as to what actually was decided and whose side won out. They came to a temporary agreement on this by accepting a statement which was recently published in Political Affairs, and which was reprinted a few days ago in the Daily Worker. However, this quarell keeps rising--who won what at the National Convention, and just what, exactly, was decided in terms of basic policy. Foster says one thing; gates and his group insist on another.

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Stein kept pointing out the senseless and confusing results of this quarell and blamed such things for the disorientation and disgust of many people who conclude they should leave the Party.

The article of Foster, published last week in the Daily Worker, which attacked Howard Fast for his views published in last Sunday's N Y Times, was cited as another of the things which would inflame the Party and throw it into a negative wrangle and further prevent the Party from getting down to mass work.

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Stein then deplored the appearance this week of an "unedited" review by Friedman of Aptheker's new book on Hungary. The Friedman review was of the Gates group persuasion, and was said to be "worthy of the NY Post or Times but not the DW." The review was critical of Soviet actions in Hungary and brought into focus all the ire of the Foster pro-Soviet group.

Stein pointed out that this review would then merit an answer by Foster, that the Foster answer would be answered by still another, and that before we knew it we would be enmeshed in another destructive Hungarian discussion which was "smuggled in by the back door." (Foster interjected to say that the review had to be answered and if no one else would do it, he would, because such an atrocious thing should never have appeared in a Communist newspaper.)

Stein concluded his remarks by pleading for a united approach, for efforts to end the factionalism, by all districts and the leadership getting down to serious work. He advanced a number of proposals whereby this might be done, in terms of applying the convention decisions, shoring up the internal organization, depressing the differences.

He said that on the basis of his report and the discussion which would be forthcoming on it, would be be basis of a rounded and prepared report to be made next month to the full National Committee.

The ensuing discussion upon the Stein report lasted for six hours, with Ben Davis, Lumer and Mike Russo left over to speak the next morning. The discussion followed strictly group lines, with Foster, Weinstone and Winter of one viewpoint, and Charney, [redacted] Davis (Dave), Ross, Lightfoot and Durham--in varying degrees--speaking contrary and in line with the Gates outlook.

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On this discussion Dennis and Stachel did not speak....

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Foster was first to speak and he attacked the Stein report as "flabby" and providing no answer to the problems. He said that at an earlier meeting he had projected a realistic four point program which would get the Party out of the hole but it was not accepted. He listed this program as an agressive, planned campaign to apply the convention decisions, to map out a national and coordinated party rebuilding campaign, to undertake an agressive campaign of a planned and national character to throw the party membership into mass work, and, finally, to clarify all the confusions and hesitations by having the party adopt a correct and Marxist attitude to the Soviet Union.

He said the Stein proposals was "dabbling" at the problem, and attacked Stein for suggesting that "our problem must be of an American kind, consistent with the needs of the American people, and of a type understood by them." Foster heatedly said all that was well and fine and, yes, necessary, but Stein forgets we live in a world where international probmens and relationships shape and influence our lives and cannot be ignored. He argued that matters of war and peace, United Nations, Soviet Union, peoples democracies and a host of other international matters cannot be ignored and evaded in our search for American programs. He insisted again that his program be adopted and that the subject be tackled front-on and not be dabbled at as Stein wants.

Foster angrily defended his attack on Fast as essential and correct. He insisted it was necessary for the Communists to make ideological war against their detractors, to militantly defend and champion Marxism, and to help counteract the confusion which such people make with their propaganda. He said it was tragic that anyone could want to be namby-pamby with elements (that) are anti-socialist and anti-communist, and that is why there is so much confusion.

Foster was most sharp against what he termed the "concialiationism" demonstrated by the Daily Worker and various Party leaders, and ascribed as the main cause for the frustration,

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unclearly and division in the Party. He attacked the Friedman review was an example of the stuff which is ideologically polluting the Party and deemed it correct to attack it and prevent any such recurrence. He pounded the table to emphasize that a Communist Party could not be built when it presented a face with such a confused, polluted and un Marxist ideology and policy.

On concluding his speech, Foster left the meeting and did not return.

In the ensuing discussion some figures of losses and present membership were indicated.

New Jersey: [redacted] said her figures showed that at the beginning of 1956 her membership was 700 and that she believes N J lost about 125 members due to the last years troubles.

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Michigan: Winter said his present membership is "about 300" and figures he lost no more than 10% or "not more than 35" and not all due to political causes, but due to firing, repression, government and employer pressure.

Minnesota: Carl Ross said his membership is "a shade under 200" and had suffered no losses due to the political trouble.

Eastern Penna: D Davis the lost about 200, and the present membership is "about 300."

New York: Blake said that at the registration in January 1956 they had 8,800 and "would be happy if today we had over 4000." He mentioned that in Buffalo, which was further removed from the heat of the N Y City conflict, they had normal losses of from 96 to 81 today; but that in the Bronx they dropped from 800 to a present 200; and the industrial section which had 2100 members now has around 1400. He said that the largest bulk of losses in N Y took place after the National Convention.

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The informant supplemented the above report with the following oral information concerning the balance of the 6/22/57 session of the NEC.

CARL WINTER, according to informant, leans toward the Foster group but in his speech he essentially agreed with CHARNEY. WINTER said that the difficulty in getting the CP "off the rocks" is not because of factionalism which is not great in Michigan but because members do not think Party activity is worthwhile. As an example he cited the efforts to distribute the "Daily Worker" supplement on atomic fallout. Many members refused to distribute copies because it could harm them, and because it would not be effective. They do not see the independent role of the CP and feel other organizations could do the job better.

CARL ROSS said the losses in Minnesota were not due to political trouble but to changing jobs, moving etc. The Minnesota membership is isolated, not in touch with the leadership and does not feel the existing strife among the leadership. The Minnesota membership is so scattered according to ROSS, that the only contact the CP has with them is through the "Daily Worker." ROSS stated that in Minnesota there are 350 "Daily Worker" subscribers of which 100 are CP families.

DAVE DAVIS stated that factionalism is a minor consideration in the membership losses of the Eastern Pennsylvania Communist Party (EPCP). He pointed out that the EPCP membership is centered around Philadelphia and consists mainly of professionals and middle class groups who are therefore more susceptible to outside influences. EPCP losses were due to disillusionment, disgust and the lack of constructive work on the part of the CP.

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY in his speech stated that he believes it is hopeless to try to rebuild the Party. He stated that the ideas expounded by him before the 16th CP National Convention calling for a change in the name of the Party as well as a change in its form to a political association are sound



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and should be carried out. He stated that the NY State CP party membership at the last registration in January, 1956, totaled 8,800 and he "would be happy if today we had over 4,000." He mentioned that in Buffalo they had normal losses from 96 members in January, 1956, to 81 members today, but that the Bronx County CP dropped from 800 members in January, 1956, to 200 today. He stated that the Industrial Section dropped from 2,100 in January, 1956, to 1,400 members today pointing out that the Industrial Section is regarded as the cream of the CP, the trade union groups who are sharp, intelligent people. He said that the great bulk of the membership losses occurred after the National Convention in February, 1957. CHARNEY stated it is idiotic to assume that 4,000 quit the NY State CP after the National Convention because of factionalism alone. Many found the convention a failure, were disgusted, disillusioned and saw no hope for the CP continuing. CHARNEY stated that the CP is unacceptable to the masses because of its associations, its relationship with the Soviet Union, its policies and its whole outlook. Until the CP becomes acceptable to the masses the masses will not join it. He stated that his quarrel with BEN DAVIS could not wreck the CP, and added that they should not look to factionalism but to the cause of factionalism.

The informant described CHARNEY's speech as ominously significant in that it indicates further developments of the division in the CP and the inability to solve this dispute. GATES was being compelled to follow the Convention decisions, but CHARNEY's speech indicates a return to the pre-convention debate for a basic change in the CP.

MORRIS CHILDS followed with a report on the CP in the Central American countries. He had attended a convention of these CPs in Mexico City. He reported on the status of the CP in each country, the present activity of the CP in each, the request of these CPs for a resumption of close relations with the CP, USA and the request of the Guatemala, Cuba and Honduras CPs for immediate financial assistance.

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He indicated that ENCINO, secretary of the CP of Mexico, had made a trip to Guatemala, Honduras and Ecuador and had supplemented the information furnished by the representatives of these countries who were at this meeting in Mexico City.

The informant pointed out that the Mexican CP is disorganized, has only about 5,000 members, has not been able to construct a national leadership, and is hard pressed for funds to continue its newspaper, yet ENCINO can make such a trip. Although the Mexican CP is asking for financial assistance there must be money available for such a trip.

CHILDS stated that while in Mexico he met with a large group of expatriate American CP members and tried to make peace between the Mexican CP and the expatriates. The expatriates are critical of the Mexican CP while the Mexican CP regards the expatriates as "carpet baggers" and interlopers.

CHILDS advised that a joint discussion was held at the meeting of these Central American countries of the necessity to develop a uniform campaign against American imperialism and against the expansion of American capital, influence and control of the sovereign affairs in these countries. The necessity of starting a campaign around the Panama Canal, along the lines of the Suez Canal developments was discussed.

Regarding Guatemala, CHILDS stated that all except a small group of the exiled CP leaders have returned and are working to reestablish themselves. The small core who have not yet returned will return.

Regarding Nicaragua, the CP is illegal but is overcoming the mistakes of the leadership and is functioning effectively again.

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Regarding Cuba, the CP of Cuba has 10,000 actual members, and the Party, although illegal is functioning in Cuba with its main leadership outside Cuba but nearby. The extent of the anti-Batista campaign was discussed as was the efforts of the Cuban CP to become part of it. The CP slogan of insurrection in Cuba was called stupid and led to the breaking up of all opposition to BATISTA, separating the CP from its natural allies who also wanted insurrection.

Regarding Mexico, CHILDS stated that the CP there is evaluating the reasons for the "eight years of mistakes." They have been ineffective in the trade union groups of which there are twelve as compared to the one AFL-CIO in the U.S. The Mexican CP consists of 5,000 members with haphazard leadership and irregular meetings. Political influence is at a low ebb. The policy of the Mexican CP is to form a coalition of all Mexican liberal, progressive and democratic organizations "against American imperialism" with the hope of influencing the Mexican elections of 1958. Every avenue of the Mexican economy is falling under American influence and the U.S. is making Mexico its vassal.

The Mexican CP is aware that the consciousness of Mexican sovereignty will be the unifying plank that will unite the Mexican people in the fight of Mexican sovereignty over American influence.

The Mexican CP is having a dispute with DE TOLEDANO and his party, he not being too receptive to a united front against American imperialism. CHILDS believes there is a good possibility he will join the front, however.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)      DATE: 7-8-57  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
          ORGANIZATION  
          INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

On June 27 and 28, 1957, CG 5824-S\* made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING several dictaphone memo belts, the transcription of which is located in Chicago file A/134-46-3791. The following information is contained in this transcription:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Atlanta (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-12464) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (GEORGE A. MEYERS)
- 1 - Birmingham (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 6 - Boston (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-20779) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Membership)
  - (1 - 100- )
  - (1 - 100-568) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-17541) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-16160) (MICHAEL RUSSO)
- 1 - Charlotte (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Cincinnati (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-17257) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (HYMAN LUMER)
- 1 - Dallas (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-2050) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Youth Matters)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 1 - El Paso (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Houston (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Knoxville (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-26044) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Memphis (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)

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See 1a and 1b pages for additional copies.

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- 1 - Miami (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-1878-P) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-6379) (CARL ROSS)
- 1 - Mobile (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Newark (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-4284) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Membership)
  - (1 - 100-2974) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New Orleans (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 41 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-89691) (CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80633) (CP - USA, Education) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80636) (CP - USA, Legislative Activities) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81675) (CP - USA, Pamphlets & Publications) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-79717) (CP - USA, Political Activities) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81338) (CP - USA, Security Measures) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89590) (CP - USA, Strategy in Industry) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-88123) (CP - USA, United Nations Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80644) (CP - USA, Youth Matters) (#19)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Southern Regional Committee) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2) (#12-14)
  - (1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press) (#7-2)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Socialist Workers Party)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Young Socialist League)
  - (1 - 100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN) (#7-2)
  - (1 - 100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (#20-11)
  - (1 - 100-13923) [REDACTED] (#19)
  - (1 - 100-9984) (ALBERT BLUMBERG)
  - (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (12-15)
  - (1 - 100-14606) (JOE CLARK) (#20-11)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-110840) (EARL DURHAM) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-87561) [REDACTED] (#19)
  - (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
  - (1 - 100- ) (ROBERT FRIEDMAN)
  - (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON) (#12-14)
  - (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19)

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- (1 - 100-9352) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-14859) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#19)
- (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19)
- (1 - 100-18673) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#20-13)
- 1 - Norfolk (100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-31723) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Membership)
  - (1 - 100-2427) (DAVID DAVIS)
- 1 - Richmond (100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Antonio (100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-27747) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Savannah (100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)
- 7 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46-3791a)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-33739) (CP - USA, Education)
  - (1 - 100-33756) (CP - USA, Strategy in Industry)
  - (1 - 100-33745) (CP - USA, Youth Matters)

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Time, Type and Place of Meeting

The meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA took place in the National Headquarters Library, first floor rear, on Saturday, June 22, 1957, and Sunday, June 23, 1957.

Persons in Attendance

The two National Executive Committee members from California and FRED FINE, who was on a tour at the time, were not present at this meeting. Other members of the National Executive Committee were present. They are:

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY	CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.	HYMAN LUMER
DAVID DAVIS	GEORGE A. MEYERS
EUGENE DENNIS	CARL ROSS
EARL DURHAM	MICHAEL RUSSO
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	STD STEIN
JOHN GATES	[REDACTED]
JAMES JACKSON	CARL WINTER

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Also present at portions of the meeting as invitees were the following, who were invited to participate during a discussion on a particular topic of interest to them:

MORRIS CHILDS  
SIMON W. GERSON  
JACK STACHEL  
GEORGE WATT  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

[REDACTED] acted as a security guard at the door, and [REDACTED] took notes during the meeting.

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Agenda

The agenda consisted of the following points for Saturday:

- (1) A report by EUGENE DENNIS on the significance of the Supreme Court decisions on the Smith Act cases, as well as the [REDACTED] SWEEZY, [REDACTED] and JENCKS decisions.

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- (2) A report by SID STEIN on the organizational situation within the Party and the possibilities of rebuilding it.
- (3) A report on Latin America, by MORRIS CHILDS.

The agenda consisted of the following points for Sunday:

- (1) A report on the youth movement, by EARL DURHAM.
- (2) A report on the financial and editorial situation in the "Daily Worker", by JACK STACHEL.
- (3) Miscellaneous, including a brief informational report by EUGENE DENNIS on the Foreign Affairs Committee and a report on the moving of the headquarters to Chicago by CARL WINTER.

Report by EUGENE DENNIS on the  
Significance of the Supreme  
Court Decisions

I missed the morning session on June 22, 1957. EUGENE DENNIS showed me his handwritten notes. These were the notes upon which his report was based. I read these notes in his presence; therefore, I could not copy too much. This is a sort of thumbnail summary. He said that his report consisted of capsules.

He pointed out that the Supreme Court is reflecting the change in climate within the United States and the changing international climate. The Supreme Court has dealt a heavy blow at the fascist, repressive legal practices and against McCarthyism. He went on to say that the latest judicial rulings of the high tribunal mark a turning point in the battle to enforce the Bill of Rights. He said that in the WATKINS and JENCKS cases, the Supreme Court has placed checks on Congressional witchhunts and on the illegal and unconstitutional practices of the FBI and the Department of Justice. He said that while there was no reversal of the DENNIS decision, the fact is that this latest decision of the Supreme Court does, in a defacto manner, reverse substantial parts of the VINSON decision.

He went on to point out that from now on books will be insufficient as evidence to convict people. From now on advocacy is constitutionally protected. Legal mumble-jumble



notwithstanding the latest decision of the court is a departure from the VINSON decision. There are certain minimum things to be expected from the Supreme Court decisions. There will be new trials allowed in the Cleveland, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Seattle and other cases. The Supreme Court decision will compel new indictments in Boston, Pittsburgh and other places because of the weak indictments at the present time. The court decision will definitely put a brake on the membership cases.

He explained that a long period of struggle led to the decisions. The Communist Party Convention had an impact on public opinion and thus influenced the legal aspects of the attitude toward Communism.

Then DENNIS went on to point out or warn Communists not to underestimate the "know nothing", Dixiecrat, reactionary drive to reverse the HARLAN decision. He pointed to some speeches of Congressmen, Senators and other public figures asking for the impeachment of the Supreme Court. He said it is the task of the Communist Party to bolster the mass sentiment for the Supreme Court decision and carry on a drive for the Bill of Rights. He suggested the following:

- (1) That the Communists help to popularize the significance of the court's decision, and, in popularizing this, to emphasize the role that the Communist Party played to bring about this decision. That life and meaning be given to these decisions by the writing of articles. That other people should be influenced to write articles in order to get expression of opinion of the court's decision from broader forces; that is, non-Communist forces.
- (2) To inaugurate additional legal moves in all cases on appeal and to use the argument that there is insufficient evidence. Also, demand the FBI reports. He asked for the establishment of united front movements locally so that cases can be aired. Also, to demand a halt to further prosecutions.
- (3) To influence the introduction in Congress of legislation to repeal the Smith Act. If this cannot be done in time for this session, then the Party should use anything in its power to get such

legislation introduced at the next session of Congress. To fight against legislation which might be introduced in Congress and which would protect the FBI files.

- (4) To get resolutions expressing support and welcoming the high court decisions and to point out the victories for civil liberties and civil rights. If possible, to get these resolutions in trade unions, churches, universities, local Bar Associations, and to see that these resolutions reach legislators, Congressmen, etc.
- (5) To inaugurate a discussion preliminary to the preparations for the 1958 elections. In these preliminary preparations for the 1958 elections, the Party should try to influence everyone to place squarely before the people that they want to involve in coalitions or united fronts, the questions of civil liberties and civil rights issues and to let the Congressmen know what is on foot in various communities. The Party will not support the "know nothing" legislation before Congress. On the contrary, it will demand, through the pressure of these coalitions, the upholding of the court decisions in the Congressional fight. The Congressional fight is not limited only to the halls of Congress, but extends to the elections.
- (6) To mobilize labor and, in mobilizing labor, to give credit to the United Automobile Workers, to the Longshoremen's Union on the West Coast, and to the Packinghouse Union. To inaugurate a discussion in the trade unions on the Fifth Amendment on the basis of the HALPERIN (ph) decision. The Communists should, by involving labor, show that labor has a big stake involved in the Fifth Amendment. Therefore, it should not surrender it or fight against the Fifth Amendment.
- (7) To utilize the present situation for an upsurge. To persuade the Party and the Left forces of the need to rebuild. To show that there is much more legality. This legality is a part of the judicial

and political system of the country. It has to be a part of the life of the country. In this atmosphere the Communists, as well as the Left organizations, can rebuild themselves. DENNIS emphasized the importance of the contributions of the Party to show that because of the Party contributions, there is a more favorable situation today. It is now possible to build the Party and to establish a broader united front relationship.

- (8) That the National Administrative Committee, following any proposals of the National Executive Committee, concretize these recommendations which he had given in general form.

Report of SID STEIN on Organization

SID STEIN made a report on the organizational status of the Party. He pointed out that the Communist Party has suffered some terrific losses and that most of these losses have taken place subsequent to the McCarthyite period and after the repressive measures against the Party had slackened. Not only that, but the losses continued even after the Party Convention. In fact, the organization situation is worse.

He did cite some concrete examples to show that the situation in the Party is not very good. For example, in Massachusetts, at the time of the last registration, there were four hundred people. Today they have approximately 150 people. Most of the District leadership is in a status of inactivity and some have even quit the Party. Among the people that he mentioned as being in a status of inactivity were [redacted] and [redacted]. He explained that [redacted] has quit the Communist Party.

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Then he went into a discussion of New Jersey. He pointed out that there were 725 members in the Party at the time of the last registration. New Jersey now has approximately five hundred people or less.

Next he discussed Eastern Pennsylvania. It was supposed to have six hundred people or thereabouts at the time of the last registration. Today they have a maximum of 360 people, if they have that many.

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He also pointed out that the figures that he is getting from the Middle West sound optimistic. The losses are smaller. Nevertheless, the comrades will find, upon an analysis, that they are underestimating the losses.

STEIN proposed a patient campaign of education in an effort to retain people who disagree with some parts of the Party program. He said it is necessary to locate all those who have left the ranks and try to retain friendly relations with them and to listen to them patiently. Arguments with them should not be in an unfriendly manner. Wherever it is possible, get them to rejoin the Party and also re-mobilize and re-activize certain Party organizations.

He suggested that the Party even allow some groups to remain outside the ranks and to function as organized units. These persons would not be in the ranks of the Party, but would co-operate with the Party until such time as they have an identity of views. He called for the setting up of auxiliary organizations, if necessary. These auxiliary organizations would not replace the Party. They might be made up chiefly of ex-Party members who would retain their own identity but would co-operate with the Party. They would not have to subordinate themselves to the Party point of view, especially since they disagree with the Party on its international viewpoint particularly in regard to the Soviet Union and Hungary. They also disagree with the Party attitude towards the labor movement and with the Party's sectarianism.

STEIN estimated that only a fraction of the New York organization is left. It is estimated that one-third of the organization in New York has disappeared and left the Party. Another one-third has become inactive. They do not know whether these people have dropped away or just became inactive, and cannot be accounted for. The basic figure is 8,800 people, while now they can account for only a little over three thousand.

STEIN stated that his report was presented in a brief outline form as a preliminary to the report which will have more substance and which he will give to the National Committee meeting when it meets in New York City on the weekend of July 27-28, 1957.

Discussion on the Report of  
SID STEIN on Organization

Remarks of HY LUMER

HY LUMER took the floor and said that the losses in Ohio are not in the same proportion as those in New Jersey and those in New York. He only knows of eighteen resignations, although the actual figures will be determined by the registration. He went on to say that the cadre losses -- that is, the most active people -- were small. He knows of only one member of the State Committee who has quit and knows of only one Section Organizer who has publicly quit the Party.

On the status of the Party organization, he said the sections and clubs in Cleveland are functioning in about the same manner as about a year ago. In some of the other cities, things are different and the Party organization is not in a good situation. In fact, in the small industrial towns in Ohio they have serious problems. He said that the membership is demanding a program of action. The Ohio District has now worked out a program on housing, which is a beginning; however, the problems cannot be resolved until they resolve the ideological problems. These differences are very important.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

LUMER was followed by BEN DAVIS. He said that SID's report should be looked upon as a preliminary report and will need further discussion. He thinks, however, that the organization report is the guts of the problem. He believes that SID STEIN left out some fundamentals. One fundamental is why we need the Party. He quoted LENIN on opportunism, where LENIN was supposed to have said opportunism says that the movement is everything. The aim is nothing. DAVIS said that the Communist Party will have to be built by the examples of the leaders. He favors a big grandiose campaign, a demonstrative campaign to get the people to join the Party.

DAVIS said the "Daily Worker" is doing a bad service to the Party. The "Daily Worker" is undermining the confidence in the Party. He criticized JOE CLARK, [REDACTED] ROBERT FRIEDMAN and the "Daily Worker" staff. He disagreed with [REDACTED] who had stated that it was correct to publish AP'HEKER's book on Hungary.

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He said that he is very definitely against the suggestion of SID STEIN regarding auxiliary organizations. He

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said that if STEIN's example is followed, these auxiliary organizations, made up of non-Party people, will replace the Party. Emphasis should be on the rebuilding of the Party. He stated, however, that he is willing to let things go until SID makes his final report; however, he wants everybody to know how he feels about this question of forms of organization.

Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

BILL FOSTER took the floor. He said he believes that what the Party needs is a big mass recruiting campaign on an American scale. This means you do things big -- in a big way. He said the spirit is good, especially in light of the Supreme Court's decision. Instead of monkeying around with auxiliary forms of organization, let's clear things up ideologically. Let's get rid of such people as JOHN GATES, JOE CLARK, and people like FRIEDMAN. Let's take a stand on the Soviet Union and Hungary. Let's arouse the people and organize a national recruiting drive, and thousands of people will join the Party.

Remarks of MICHAEL RUSSO

MICHAEL RUSSO took the floor and said that he thought that SID's report was good and that the Party is still in a crisis. He said that FOSTER's speech today, as well as his article on HOWARD FAST, are examples of intimidation. We have to settle where we are going. After we settle that, then we will need the reconstruction of the Party. He went on to say that the American Party is not rooted in the soil of the United States. This is why the FBI has succeeded in isolating us. We have to carry on a campaign to legalize the Party in the eyes of the people. This is even more important than in the eyes of the law. How do we look to the people? Because we are such ingrained sectarians, as indicated by the speeches of FOSTER and BEN DAVIS, we are missing an opportunity. There is only one way to rebuild the Party, and that is to put emphasis upon the constitutional way to Socialism.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

GEORGE MEYERS, of Maryland, took the floor. He explained that the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Maryland were devastating as far as the Party is concerned. Because nearly every person has been named and

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because of the stool pigeons, the Communist Party in Maryland is not making any progress and is suffering losses.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

MEYERS was followed by DENNIS. He said that he thought that SID's report was a contribution, even if it is only an exploratory report thus far.

DENNIS went on to say that he does not share the ideas of SID STEIN on Hungary. The Hungarian question cannot be bypassed. It is an American problem right now. The only question regarding Hungary is how do we place the problem before the American people tactically.

On problems of organization facing the Party, he thinks that the proposals in SID STEIN's report should be considered. He agrees with the idea of auxiliary forms of organization. These auxiliary forms should be considered. Other Parties have done the same thing we want to do. They did this under legal and illegal conditions. He cited as an example Cuba, where they had an auxiliary form of organization and also had the militants, who were considered Party members. They always had a small militant Party, but had many times the Party membership around them. These people would participate in various kinds of activities, even though they would not accept the total discipline of the Party.

DENNIS asked the questions: Do we need to draw ex-Party members back into the Communist Party? Do we need to draw workers to Marxism-Leninism? Answering these questions, he said very definitely we do. But we may have to go through this auxiliary form of organization first while we build the Party.

He talked about the vanguard role of the Party, and said that as a vanguard, the Party should always ascertain concretely each issue that will move the workers in the shops and in the trade unions and in this way win them for the Party. As regards the central thesis of rebuilding the Party, he thinks that the rebuilding of the "Daily Worker" is most important for the rebuilding of the Party.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL talked about the subjective desire for

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unity, basing his remarks on a speech by MAO-TSE-TUNG which was printed in the "New York Times". He said that he thought that some comrades at this meeting do not have this subjective desire for unity; therefore, they see differences in everything. STACHEL stated that he agrees with the essence of SID STEIN's report.

Remarks of JOHN GATES

STACHEL was followed by JOHN GATES. GATES said that a grandiose plan is not needed. A sober plan to pick up the pieces is needed; then a decision is needed to determine where we go from here. He said that, despite FOSTER, the Party cannot go into a counter offensive. The Party can only carry on martyrs' battles. The Party has need for small victories now, even if there are only a few of them. He said that no amount of exhortation will build the Party.

He cited as examples of small victories the release of BOB THOMPSON on bond, the pilgrimage to Washington, and the H-Bomb campaign. He went on to say that many people who have dropped away from the Communist Party are not hostile. They continue to meet with him and with other people and continue to talk. As long as they continue to talk, there is a chance to draw them back into the Party.

GATES said that the auxiliary form of organization is a fact. It is here. It is increasing. Therefore, what should the outlook of the Party be? The Party should take a positive and friendly attitude toward these people in the auxiliary organizations. In fact, we ought to encourage these people to organize, especially those who will not come back to the Party. Even if the first task is the building of the Communist Party, we should not discourage ex-Communists from meeting together. Those belonging to mass organizations will get together anyway. Party and non-Party people will get together. He said that he knows that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER thinks this is a plot to build a rival Communist Party. But in his opinion the Party can recruit from these auxiliary organizations. In any case, it can be an experiment. Therefore, he thinks that it is necessary to go along with SID's report.

Remarks of GEORGE WATT

GEORGE WATT talked about the weaknesses in the New



York organization, although he did not give any statistics.

Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

WILLIAM WEINSTONE violently disagreed with SID STEIN. He thought that ideology is the most important thing and he agreed with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER that a big national campaign and drive is needed to rebuild the Party. He favored a recruiting drive and condemned the pessimism of those who talk about picking up the pieces, etc.

Remarks of CARL ROSS

CARL ROSS, of Minnesota, spoke. He indicated that they are doing a little to retain the membership of the Party in Minnesota. He stated, however, that most of the work is done by a few people, a few leaders. The Party membership as such is not participating in the building of the Party. Even the fulfillment of their quota in the circulation drive for the "Daily Worker" was done by a handful of Party leaders. The Party as such has not been involved.

He went on to explain the favorable situation in Minnesota. He said he has spoken before various bodies, in universities, clubs, etc. The reception is not always hostile. If the Party leaders go out, set an example, debate, do not take the attitude that they know it all, it is possible that they will be able to influence a lot of people and win some, who have left the Party, back into the ranks of the Party. They can also get a more favorable reaction to the Party, especially in the light of the new decisions of the Supreme Court.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON on the South

JAMES JACKSON talked about the building of the Party in the South. He pointed out that the Party in the South works under very difficult circumstances. Therefore, they are not going to spread themselves all over the lot. The Communist Party is going to concentrate in just a few states to begin with and in one or two cities in each state. The states he listed on a paper as points of concentration are Florida, Alabama, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia. He said that this does not mean that work in other states will be dropped. There will be concentration in these states; however, for various reasons. Chief among these,

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of course, is that there is a Party organization in those states, while in most of the other states there are only scattered individuals. Furthermore, there are industrial and political reasons for concentration in these states. Activity will not be given up in places like Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia and South Carolina, where the losses have been heavy due to circumstances.

An additional reason for concentration is that when somebody goes into the South, he spends a day in a city and then moves along, since there is so much ground to cover. If they concentrate on these few states, then a person will be able to go to the South and spend some time. He will know more about the situation and thus can help build the Party or be of assistance to the people there.

JACKSON stated that in the South, the Party cannot work as a legal Party, despite the Supreme Court decisions. He said that in some cases, they will be organized into auxiliary organizations. A Communist organization may call itself by another name. He said the situation down there demands this.

As to the question, How will the Communist Party as such express itself if it is not out in the open and is working in an illegal manner, he made the recommendation that the Communist Party once again begin to publish a newspaper in the South. Even if this newspaper is not called the official organ of the Communist Party, it will give voice to the Party program, to issues raised by the Party, and it will talk about Communist ideology. In this way, the Party will be known to the people in the South.

When he was asked why Texas was chosen as one of the states of concentration, he said that it is not so much a question of the number of people in Texas so much as a question of the political situation in that state which makes it necessary to concentrate there. JACKSON said that they have all kinds of contacts in Texas, even though they are not in the Party. He stated that right now they can influence the political relation of forces in that state.

JACKSON only mentioned a few cities as concentration points. He mentioned Jacksonville and Miami in Florida; Birmingham and Montgomery in Alabama; and Norfolk in Virginia. He did

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not go beyond that in naming cities. He was very careful and they would shush him if he sometimes mentioned a word that was thought to be inadvisable.

Remarks of [redacted]

[redacted] endorsed the report of SID STEIN, and pointed out the difficulties in New Jersey. She said she favors a slow rebuilding of the Party and contact with non-Party people, and even ex-Party people who retain an organization. Where there is no organization, contacts should be maintained with ex-Party members as individuals.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER pointed out that the losses in Michigan were not as big as in the Eastern states. He said that he knows of a few people who have dropped away. He does not think that a big recruiting drive is possible at this time, but that it is necessary to emphasize the need to rebuild the Party.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN took the floor again. He said that at the time he was preparing his report, he had no knowledge of what was doing in Michigan, Ohio and Minnesota. He said that perhaps what the comrades reported from there is correct. He plans to visit most of these states before he makes his final report to the National Committee. He believes that he will get the facts when he goes on this tour. He went on to say that he wants a collective report and does not want to deliver merely an administrative report. He said he wants the report to have a political basis. He made the following suggestions:

- (1) That the National Committee get a detailed estimate as to the status of the Party organization. This is to be based on facts and figures.
- (2) That the main political problems facing the Party be laid before the National Committee in order to try to get unity. If we cannot get unity, to get a debate, but a debate without heat.
- (3) That the National Committee be told there are problems in the form of organization. He said that

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he was helped by the discussion. This will help him develop an orientation for the National Committee meeting. Maybe we will not have unity at the National Committee meeting, but we can vote and decide in which direction we should move.

- (4) On this basis, to project a plan of work for four months. That this plan of work be given to the July meeting of the National Committee. He thinks that this four-month plan can be a turning point in helping to rebuild the Party.

Vote on the Report of SID STEIN  
on Organization

A vote was taken on SID STEIN's report on organization. All members of the National Executive Committee voted for the report except FOSTER and BEN DAVIS, who voted against it.

Report of CARL WINTER on Moving the  
Communist Party Headquarters to Chicago

CARL WINTER made a brief report on moving the Communist Party headquarters to Chicago. He said that a committee reviewed the situation. They are of the opinion that the move to Chicago should be continued. There should be no fanfare. Various departments should be moving to Chicago. He stated that in addition to the Trade Union Department and the Youth Department, that the Educational Department, with HY LUMER as its head, will also be moving to Chicago. In fact, LUMER will be looking for a place to live in Chicago.

WINTER proposed the establishment of a field secretariat, which should keep in touch with New York. In the meantime, some of the activity should be transferred to Chicago. Conferences in specific fields of work should be called in Chicago rather than in New York. This will help to move the Party to Chicago in gradual stages. The conditions are now more favorable than they were at the time the proposal was made at the convention to move to Chicago. He said that his committee re-affirmed the original decision to move, and believed that over a year's time a change is possible.

The report of CARL WINTER was accepted as progress. There was no discussion on it.

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Report on Youth Matters by EARL DURHAM

EARL DURHAM gave an informational report. He said that he had just returned from a trip in which he visited Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. He said that on this trip, as well as in New York City, he discussed the problem of youth with Party leaders. They examined the past line and perspectives for the Communist Party and the youth. He said that they went all the way back to the 1950 report. They then went into an examination of the developments in the youth movement. They went into a study of juvenile delinquency. They also discussed the peace movement, particularly among the students and youth. They discussed ideological problems affecting the youth. He quoted from the report of Dr. H. H. REMMERS, of Purdue University, which shows that the youth is influenced by what he calls McCarthyism. He pointed out that the youth movement generally is losing membership, particularly the young adults.

DURHAM pointed out that people in the category of young adults -- from 18 to 35 years of age -- are dropping away and the only young people's movements which seem to be gaining in membership are the young Democrats and the young Republicans. He pointed out that this is no longer a youth question in these ages. He tried to explain the fear of joining. He said the Congressional committees have created a fear of joining. Some of the young people are afraid that if they join something, that ten years from now they will be subjected to some abuse or some expose. Therefore, they stay away from organizations. He stated that there has been an upturn in teenage organizations, particularly in the religious organizations and around social centers.

DURHAM pointed out that the Party has been neglecting the campus and has very little on the campus at the present time.

He reported that most of the youth belonging to the Party in the Midwest and who formerly belonged to the Labor Youth League have been brought directly into the Communist Party. He said that this did not involve many persons, perhaps one, two or three in each District, but whatever people they had were brought into the Communist Party. In New York, however, the situation is not so good. In New York, the Labor Youth League has been disbanded and they have lost most of their people. They were not brought into the Communist Party.

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He said that in the Midwest he found that some attention is being given to the youth movement. This attention is being given by those individuals who grew up in the youth movement and have become very active in mass organizations. They gained from their experience in the youth movement. The people who develop in that way are a gain for the Communist Party, since they bring the Communist Party in contact with the mass organizations.

Then DURHAM told of a meeting he had in New York with Socialists, Quakers and other assorted Socialist groups. He said that the problem that was to be discussed was how to bring Socialism to the youth. This was not a merger meeting. He said that the Trotskyists, the Socialist Workers Party youth group, were present. They just established a youth movement about eight months ago. They have a total national membership of twenty-five. He said the Young Socialist League has only eighty-five members nationally. He said that they fought about Hungary and they fought about STALIN. There is no substantial agreement thus far, except that they agreed that they are going to get together sometime in the near future.

DURHAM returned to the student movement and pointed out that except for New York, there is no student activity by the Party anywhere, particularly in the Middle West. He stated that in Michigan they hired a professional who organized a teenage group. This professional is giving full time to organizing teenagers. They begin on a social level and expand. He said that so far this experiment is doing pretty good and that it will be watched.

Then DURHAM stated that the Committee on Youth, established by the Party and headed by him, is going to get together soon nationally. He said that youth conferences were scheduled in Chicago and in Los Angeles for June, but most of them have been postponed until the fall. He said that there was a national conference of the Party on youth scheduled for July. This conference, too, has been postponed until the fall.

DURHAM stated that he is going to draw up a memorandum which is going out to the Party. He also stated that youth divisions of the Party have been established in Michigan and Illinois.

There was no discussion on DURHAM's report, which was accepted as information.

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Report by EUGENE DENNIS on the  
Establishment of a Foreign  
Affairs Committee

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EUGENE DENNIS informed the National Executive Committee that a Foreign Affairs Committee, headed by DENNIS, has been established. This committee is made up of MORRIS CHILDS, DOC BLUMBERG, [REDACTED]

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DENNIS reported that the French article, which tried to analyze American imperialism, has come before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and this committee is going to prepare an answer. In fact, some sub-committee is working on this now. Everybody is unanimous on the answer; that is, they are going to tell the French politely that they are mistaken in some of their conclusions and are also mistaken in some of their facts.

Then he reported that there is a sub-committee preparing a statement on Hungary for the National Committee meeting. This statement will be discussed with the members of the National Administrative Committee. He also pointed out that the Foreign Affairs Committee prepared an editorial on the United Nations report on Hungary. He said that this editorial was prepared collectively with the hope that they could call it a limited editorial. The editorial criticizes the United Nations report as a self-serving document, which is aimed only to condemn the USSR. The report is being used by the DULLES and RADFORD forces who throw road blocks on the disarmament road; this report on Hungary has created tensions and is meant to head off the campaign for the outlawing of the H-Bomb, for peace, for co-existence, etc.

Report on the "Daily Worker" and  
"The Worker", by JACK STACHEL

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JACK STACHEL made a report on the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker". The report dealt with finances, circulation and editorial policy.

He pointed out that the financial drive is in bad shape. By this time they should have raised \$100,000, but they have raised only \$21,000 thus far. Instead of having five thousand subscriptions for "The Worker", they have only 2,500. Instead of 2,300 subscriptions for the "Daily Worker", they only

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have 1,594. Thus far they have reached less than one-half the goal for subscriptions. Outside of New York, the Districts have fulfilled less than one-third of their quotas in the subscription and financial drives.

Regarding the financial situation of the paper, he pointed out that it costs \$375,000 a year to put out both papers. The annual deficit is \$250,000, which is usually raised in some campaign or another. This situation needs to be changed and he would make some recommendations in order to bring about some economy.

STACHEL proposed that instead of an eight-page "Daily Worker" and a sixteen-page "The Worker", consideration be given to a four-page "Daily Worker" and a twelve-page "The Worker". This proposal would be placed into effect in the summer and the readers would be told that it is for economy purposes; however, "The Worker" would continue indefinitely as a twelve-page paper.

STACHEL stated that the committee working with him believes that this proposal would reduce the cost of putting out each paper to \$150,000 each. In this manner, the annual deficit could be cut from \$250,000 to \$100,000 or \$125,000. They figure that they could put out both papers with twelve people, while at the present time it takes twenty-five people. The change would require that they reorganize their print shop, since they cannot put out a four-page paper on a rotary press. They would have to buy a flat press or would have to farm the work out. This matter is being looked into.

STACHEL stated that the present circulation of the "Daily Worker" is 5,500. The present circulation of "The Worker" is 11,000.

According to STACHEL, there are some other problems in connection with the economic aspects of the paper. The "Morning Freiheit" is going to pull out and may already have another print shop. This will have an affect because some costs had been shared with the "Morning Freiheit".

In view of the financial situation of the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker", the building where they are located is not receiving its rent on time. The D & S Corporation, organized



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for the printing, is also in financial difficulties. All of these institutions are inter-connected and most of them find their head-waters in the Party so that one crisis intensifies another crisis.

STACHEL also stated that the papers still need a business manager.

Next STACHEL discussed the content of the "Daily Worker". He said that it is necessary to be critical of the foreign policy being pursued by the "Daily Worker". He said the "Daily Worker" is being criticized not only for that, but also for a lack of struggle against imperialism, for the mistakes in regard to the Middle East situation and particularly for the attitude around questions concerning the Soviet Union.

STACHEL stated that as a member of the Publications Committee, he believes that the "Daily Worker" has not yet solved the problem of carrying out the line of the convention.

Continuing this criticism, STACHEL stated that when he tried to determine who was responsible for the printing of the review by ROBERT FRIEDMAN of AP THEKER's book entitled, "The Truth About Hungary", which appeared in the June 19, 1957, issue, he found out that this review got into the paper without anyone having knowledge of it. He further stated that JOE CLARK wrote an article on Socialism in which he said that Marxism is not a theory and is not a science. This article got into the paper without anyone seeing it, controlling it or editing it. Furthermore, [ ] took it upon himself to write an answer to an article in the Russian magazine, "International News". This magazine carried an article reviewing the situation in the Communist Party - USA, and dealt with the National Convention. It took the FOSTER position. In his answer, [ ] criticized and poked fun at the Russians.

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STACHEL pointed out that he did not get too far in trying to solve these problems, since there were technical excuses for not seeing these articles. JOHN GATES claimed he was on a vacation. SIMON W. GERSON claimed that when FRIEDMAN's article appeared, he was in Atlanta to bring BOB THOMPSON home.

STACHEL indicated that within the staff of the "Daily Worker" there are about one-half dozen people who follow a certain

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line which is anti-Soviet and anti-Party. They are not being fought but are being encouraged. JOHN GATES does not fight against these people or contradict them so they do about as they please with the paper. Among these people he named are JOE CLARK, [REDACTED] ROBERT FRIEDMAN, [REDACTED]

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JACK STACHEL made the following proposals:

- (1) That his report should be a guide for the discussion at the National Committee meeting in July.
- (2) That the report he made at the last National Committee meeting be published. So far, it has not been published. If it is not published in the "Daily Worker", it should be published in "Political Affairs" or mimeographed or put out in leaflet form and distributed to the membership.
- (3) That a series of articles on the National Convention be written by National Committee members.
- (4) That a series of articles be written on current events in the light of the convention decisions.
- (5) That some articles be written to prove the validity of Marxian theory. This would be an answer to people like JOE CLARK, who are deprecating the idea of Marxism.
- (6) That a series of articles on the role of the Party be written.
- (7) That a committee of eight be organized consisting of two persons from the National Office, two from New York, and four from the staff of the paper. That this committee work with the Editorial Board.
- (8) That an Editorial Board of five be named and that this board be responsible for everything that goes into the "Daily Worker".

In concluding, STACHEL criticized an article on HOWARD FAST written by FOSTER. He said that if this type of discussion continues in the "Daily Worker", whereby each columnist and each

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writer thinks that he has a right to dissent according to the constitution and can express himself in a column or under a byline, before long the paper will be completely out of existence. It makes no difference whether this person is FOSTER, [REDACTED] FRIEDMAN or anyone else. This type of discussion hurts the paper and is hurting the Party.

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Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

When JACK STACHEL finished his report, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER spoke. He said that JOE CLARK has the Publications Committee, as well as the National Committee and the National Executive Committee, stymied. JOE CLARK is no Communist. He is an enemy of Communism and the Party. Mark my words, JOE CLARK is going to walk out of this Party any day. You are all afraid of JOHNNY GATES, he has got every one of you bamboozled. If this were not true, JOE CLARK would have been fired by this time. How come I was removed as Chairman of the Party? I wasn't even notified in advance. I was given an honorary title without even a discussion. Yet, you are afraid to touch JOE CLARK or the "Daily Worker". I know why, because you are moral and political cowards, afraid of JOHNNY GATES.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN took the floor and said that things are not altogether right at the "Daily Worker", but he disagrees with the charge of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER that JOHNNY GATES has everyone bamboozled.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON stated that he is a member of the Publications Committee which was set up at the last meeting of the National Committee. He said that he has had some experience at trying to meet with the staff of the "Daily Worker". He said that he has gone through a period of disenchantment. It is no use, you cannot get anywhere with that bunch. He said that he agrees with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER that CLARK does not belong on the paper. As far as he is concerned, he would like to quit being a member of the Publications Committee. He doesn't think that he can reform the "Daily Worker".

Remarks of HYMAN LUMER

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JACKSON was followed by HY LUMER. He said that he, too, would like to resign from the Publications Committee, since they are not making any progress in reforming the "Daily Worker" and bringing it into line with Party decisions.

Remarks of SIMON W. GERSON

SIMON W. GERSON, who was invited for this session of the meeting, took the floor. He said that he is against a four-page paper and if it has to be reduced in size, he would agree to it reluctantly. He said he does not think that a four-page paper will save the "Daily Worker". He thinks that some progress has been made in the editorial situation of the "Daily Worker", but if the situation in the Party is not any better, it will be reflected in the "Daily Worker". If there is squabbling in the Party, there will be squabbling in the "Daily Worker".

GERSON stated that some of the writers on the "Daily Worker" at this moment are making up their minds. They do not even know whether they are in the Party or not in the Party. GERSON said he doesn't think that everyone can be fired. If you fire everyone, you will create a crisis which will smash the paper overnight. He favors a reorganization to control the political contents of the paper. He proposed a committee of three, consisting of JOHN GATES, JACK STACHEL and himself. This committee would meet with a very small editorial board. He said that the Editorial Board should be smaller than it is now, since the Editorial Board meetings become semi-mass meetings with everybody having their say.

Remarks of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY spoke. He said that he wants an apology from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER for the statement that everyone present is a moral coward or a political coward, with no courage. He said that if he does not receive this apology from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER at this meeting, he is going to resign from the National Committee as of now. He repeated this demand for an apology from FOSTER.

CHARNEY said he wanted to know who gave APTHEKER permission to write the book on Hungary. Who of the National Committee and of the leadership saw the book before it was published. He asked if the National Committee should not have

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known something about the book or have read it before it was published. He stated that APTHEKER is not just an ordinary individual; he has just been made Editor of "Political Affairs".

Then CHARNEY pointed out that every creative writer, every writer he knows with a Left wing tendency, has left the Party. He said he only knows of one creative writer who has remained in the ranks of the Party since the discussion started.

CHARNEY again spoke about FOSTER's remarks. He said that FOSTER's drive for a purge in the "Daily Worker" is wrong. If this name-calling and this driving for a purge is not stopped, whatever remnants of the Party remain, who can be called writers, will leave us. He finished by again demanding an apology from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Remarks of JOHN GATES

CHARNEY was followed by JOHNNY GATES. He said that he will agree with the idea of a four-page paper, if this will save the "Daily Worker". He stated, however, let us be clear that this is not going to be a defeat for us. It is going to be difficult to even put out a four-page paper. Let us admit that it is a terrible setback.

On the charge of cowardice by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, he said it is impossible to have a Party on that basis. He thinks that the political situation in the staff has deteriorated. Evidently, the staff is not convinced that our Party line is correct. He said that he has no simple answers, answers as simple as those of FOSTER.

GATES stated he thinks it is necessary to continue an ideological discussion with the people on the staff. An ideological discussion is slow. It requires a lot of tolerance and patience. We should do like the Chinese are doing. We should be patient. We do not practice the ideas of MAO-TSE-TUNG.

GATES further stated that he does not want to push JOE CLARK out of the Party. He said that if we remove JOE CLARK now, it will push him right out of the Party. He went on to say that the paper has become a target for everybody's frustrations. Every crackpot, every so-called leader in the Party, everyone who does not understand the present political

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situation, tries to attribute a lack of progress in the Party and the breaking up of the Party to the "Daily Worker".

GATES criticized the report of JACK STACHEL. He thought that STACHEL's report was strange and that JACK shifted his line. He stated that JACK shifted his line according to the exigencies of the moment. If he is in a room with Left thinking people or if he thinks that the Party is to the Left, he makes one kind of speech. If he thinks that the Party is thinking to the Right, he makes another kind of speech.

Response to GATES' remarks by JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL demanded an apology from JOHN GATES. He told GATES that GATES does not give him any support when he meets with the staff. On the contrary, GATES encourages these people who are deviating from the Party line. STACHEL denied that he has departed from the original outline of his report, except where there is a changed situation. He stated that the situation has become worse and since he is making his report four or five weeks subsequent to his original outline, he has to make note of this situation.

JACK STACHEL became so excited that he almost passed out. It was necessary for him to take some medicine in order to calm down.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

GATES was followed by EUGENE DENNIS after JACK STACHEL quieted down. He said that for a time he believed that a different atmosphere was being created in the Party. He said that after the last meeting of the National Committee, he thought that factionalism was disappearing, that it was being overcome and he believes that the Party should continue in a diplomatic way not to impair the moving in this discussion.

Concerning the report of JACK STACHEL, he stated that he saw no conflict in any of STACHEL's reports. They are consistent. He then pointed out that JAMES JACKSON and HY LUMER have run into an impasse with regard to the Publications Committee. He said that if all of these people are unanimous in their attitude, there is something wrong. He urged JACKSON, LUMER and STACHEL to remain on the Publications Committee and continue to try to change the "Daily Worker".

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Concerning JOE CLARK, DENNIS stated that he thought that perhaps the time has come for a change. He believes, however, that some progress has been made on the "Daily Worker". It is necessary, however, to have more editorial control of the columns. He suggested the setting of a time limit, such as Labor Day, for the reorganization of the paper. He said that if the columnists have opinions which differ from those of the Party in general, they can express these differences in either "Political Affairs" or in the special Party discussion bulletin which should be published as soon as possible.

DENNIS stated that he disagrees with FOSTER's charge of political cowardice. He said that this charge is not true and that it smacks of disruption and disunity. It polarizes the differences. In conclusion, DENNIS discussed the subject of subjectivism. He said that subjectivism is an expression of impatience and said that it is necessary to keep in mind what MAO-TSE-TUNG has said in his very famous speech on the question of subjectivism and patience.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

EUGENE DENNIS was followed by BEN DAVIS, who stated that he also used the word "cowardice" because of the failure of the National Executive Committee to stand up against the Right wing. He stated, however, that perhaps the word "cowardice" is too strong a term. What he really meant was timidity. He said that we ought to repudiate our previous position on Hungary and come out flat-footedly and say we are for Hungary; that we endorse the KADAR Government and that we appreciate the role that the Soviet Union played in Hungary. We ought to say more than that. We ought to say that we appreciate the role that the Soviet Union played in the fight against colonial slavery and against imperialism. That is why some Negroes support Communism and join the Communist Party.

BEN DAVIS went on to say that he does not want a purge in the Party. To prove this, he cited an example. He said he agreed in a New York State Committee meeting that GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY should act as a Secretary and have equal powers with him. This was proof that he was not in favor of a purge. At this moment, however, he cannot guarantee that the line of the Party will be carried out by the "Daily Worker". The National Executive Committee must demand better guarantees from JOHNNY

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GATES. If he does not give us these guarantees, we will not solve the problems which confront the paper. JOE CLARK must go. We have to get rid of him.

As far as the New York Party leadership is concerned, it is interested in the "Daily Worker". Yet, it will be up to the National Executive Committee to guarantee a given political relationship of the New York District and the paper. In other words, the New York District should be given some responsibility for the "Daily Worker". Responsibility should not be limited to the National Office and to the "Daily Worker" staff. The New York District can bear more than financial responsibilities. The New York District also wants political responsibility or a share of political responsibility for the "Daily Worker". The New York District will insist on these responsibilities.

Continuing, DAVIS stated that the New York District organization will defend the paper. As an example, he stated that one section adopted a resolution not to support the paper. He, DAVIS, came out against this resolution and the entire District leadership supported him and this section was told to support the paper.

DAVIS then stated that he wants to ask JOHN GATES right here at this meeting to do something in defense of the Party and to prevent his people, or those people who follow him or who approach problems from the Right, to quit harping on the Party.

Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER asked for the floor again. He said that he does not believe in a purge, but stated that JOE CLARK must go because he is an idealist of divisions. He said this is not something that started in the last year, but it is something that goes back three or four years or more. FOSTER said that he never said that GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY lacked courage, but he does charge that EUGENE DENNIS seems to have developed a political affinity for the Right. In conclusion, FOSTER stated that the Party has a faulty line and that we better correct the line of the Party.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

GEORGE MEYERS stated that perhaps it is necessary to look on the Hungarian situation as we look on some trade union



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problems. Let us imagine that the trade union is controlled by some labor bureaucrats who are no good. Once they get into a scrape and the workers go out on strike, then what we have to do is fight the main enemy -- that is, the bosses -- and take care of the union leadership afterwards. Perhaps we can be critical of Hungary, but since Hungary is in a fight to defend Socialism, we ought to unite behind it in its fight against imperialism.

### Motions

The following motions were then made:

- (1) That the National Administrative Committee be given the power to set up a committee to work out a plan for a four-page paper.
- (2) That the Editor, the Executive Editor and JACK STACHEL are politically responsible for the paper.
- (3) That political steps be continued to bring the paper in line with the Convention policies. That no administrative steps be taken right now but that this possibility be deferred until after the National Committee meeting.
- (4) That the Publications Committee remain as constituted at least until the National Committee meeting.

All of these motions were approved.

Discussion of the Editorial on  
the United Nations Report on  
Hungary

### Remarks of JOHN GATES

JOHN GATES disagreed with the editorial because it condemned the United Nations report which said the uprising in Hungary was a popular uprising. The editorial stated that it was not a popular uprising. GATES stated that he has not changed his mind about Hungary.

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Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER said that the editorial is no good. It does not deal with the main thing. He suggested an amendment which would repudiate the National Committee's statement on Hungary of November 5, 1957. The amendment would say that the USSR was justified in sending the Soviet Army into Hungary to defeat fascism and war. The amendment would also endorse the KADAR Government and make a clear stand on proletarian internationalism for Socialism and against imperialism. It would say that the intervention of the USSR in Hungary was a grim necessity; that the just grievances of the Hungarian people were exploited by the imperialists; that the Soviet Armies prevented fascism and war by defending Hungary. FOSTER further moved that the National Committee be polled by wire concerning this editorial.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a statement that he opposed the line proposed by FOSTER. He said he would fight to the end anyone who wants to reverse the policy on Hungary. He said that if this policy is reversed in the face of the Supreme Court decisions, the reactionaries would utilize this situation. They would say, What did we tell you? These Communists are foreign agents and they support foreign powers. As soon as you give them some legality, they reverse themselves and their previous policy was only a sham to keep out of the clutches of the law.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN also spoke on this question and indicated that he would oppose a change in policy or any kind of a proposal that would ask for the endorsement of the use of Soviet troops in Hungary. He said that if this were done, it would mean political suicide for the Party.

Vote on FOSTER's Amendment

FOSTER's amendment was defeated. There were two votes for the amendment -- those of FOSTER and BEN DAVIS. There were one or two abstentions and the rest voted against the amendment.

This National Executive Committee meeting came to a close at this point.

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Comments of CG 5824-S\*

It is important to observe that the Communist Party is far from united. This meeting was similar in lineup to many of the meetings prior to the Convention. There has been no letup in the fight. The leadership of the Party, as shown in the National Executive Committee, is opposed to the Leftist policies of FOSTER. The National Committee may be more evenly divided; however, if FOSTER should continue to make these extreme propositions, then he could not carry a majority of the National Committee with him.

Any talk of unity is just so much nonsense. In the meantime, the reports brought out that there are wide ideological differences in the ranks of the Communist Party. The reports also brought out that the Party is still declining in organizational strength. The discussions at this meeting and with individuals in New York show that the Party is not getting down to work. People are still leaving the ranks of the Party. The Left wing refuses to support the "Daily Worker" because it believes that the "Daily Worker" follows a Right wing policy. The Right wing refuses to support the Party in inaugurating campaigns which it believes will strengthen the sectarianism of the Party and help the Left wing.

There are groups of people who have separated from the Party, if only temporarily, to see which group will win out and perhaps if the group of their choosing wins, they will return to the Party. This is why so much attention was paid to the question of auxiliary forms of organization. The auxiliary form of organization is an effort not only to rebuild the Party, but if this fails, then the auxiliaries might be united, particularly by the Right wing, to substitute for the Party organization. While this may not happen, it is undoubtedly what the Right wing has in mind.